

IN THESE TIMES

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Running On Empty

Truckers stall the nation

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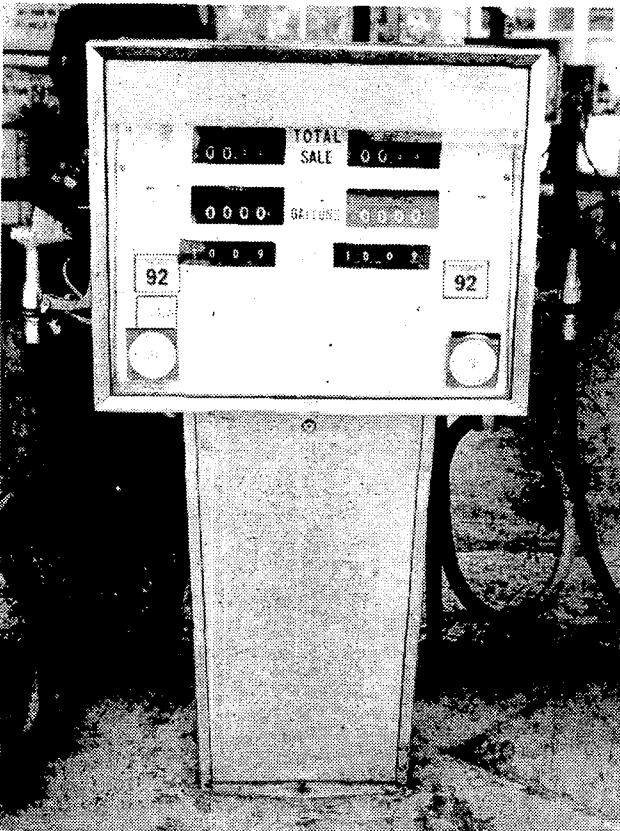
ADA dumps Carter and calls for nationalization of oil

Eurocommunists explore new self-definition

More debate on the Constitutional Convention

THE INSIDE STORY

DAVID MOBERG



Steve Kagan

Get ready for war? Or take it easy?

It's been getting a bit vicious, violent and desperate on the energy front these days with truckers taking pot shots at each other, all-American motorists paying tribute to John Wayne's memory with fights, threats and thievery in the gas lines and the not-so-subtle announcement a few days before the OPEC summit meeting in Geneva of the U.S. setting up a 110,000-man "quick strike" force called the Unilateral Corps (the Green Berets of the energy crisis?) specifically designed to keep oil flowing from the Persian Gulf to the capitalist countries.

German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt hinted at the possibility of armed intervention during his visit to the U.S. and Sen. Frank Church promised that the U.S. Senate would back military adventures to keep oil supplies up. With Sadat welcoming the Shah to refuge in Egypt, perhaps it isn't so absurd to imagine a joint Egypt-Israeli effort to replace the Shah as the military accomplice of the U.S. in the Middle East.

The hullabaloo in European capitals in favor of nuclear power grows apace as oil jitters increase. Both Carter and Congress have been rushing forward with proposals for massive domestic or international efforts to produce synthetic fuels, processing heretofore overly expensive shale oil or coal into gasoline. It appears that, with typical muddle-headedness, the administration and Congress will proceed to grant a giant subsidy to the energy industry in development of the synthetic fuel technology while competing with each other over who will tax most vigorously the profits created by deregulation. The House Ways and Means Committee is the current winner with a 70 percent, rather than 50 percent, windfall profit levy, although its plan would tax the companies less heavily than Carter's after 1985.

Meanwhile, even Energy Secretary James Schlesinger admitted that he was disappointed and irritated—but nothing more—that the major oil companies continue to refuse to run their refineries at full capacity, and even cut back in early June, when crude oil supplies were increasing. Schlesinger hinted at using federal allocation authority to maximize production of gasoline and relieve the long lines, price-gouging and trucker discontents, but then backed off. He feared the oil companies would divert oil from the U.S. to other countries in retaliation. Already the majors have indirectly threatened to withhold crude from this country in order to loosen certain price controls. Despite this corporate

exercise of force and the "irritating" statistics that suggest deliberate withholding of oil and refined products from a hungry market (see *ITT*, May 30), Schlesinger still remains a champion of the oil companies, fueling the growing demand in Washington and elsewhere to get rid of him.

The easy path.

Amidst the bluster of international confrontation and threatened intervention, the kowtowing to oil company power plays and the frantic quest for massive solutions through nuclear power or synthesized gasoline, there are a few cooler heads thinking along quite different, far more sensible lines.

Vince Taylor, an energy researcher now associated with the Union of Concerned Scientists, has drawn up a provocative, persuasive program that he calls "the easy path." No massive subsidies to oil companies or deregulation of price, no crash nuclear programs, no gasoline rationing, no forced conversion of industry to cool or lowering of thermostats, no multi-billion dollar synfuel projects, and not even a super-accelerated program for solar alternatives are needed. Conventional fossil fuels—oil, natural gas and coal—are sufficiently abundant to sustain healthy, growing economies (at least in the industrialized nations) through 2025, and perhaps much longer. By then the transition to a solar, renewable energy economy will be secure.

So how does Taylor propose to accomplish his easy path? Maybe he has a genie? In a way, he does. The trick—and it is, he argues, a remarkably easy trick—is increasing the productivity of energy. Other people talk about conservation, but since that implies to many people going without accustomed goods, Taylor emphasizes that what we want are the end-products of energy use, not energy use for its own sake. Therefore, we can have the same "energy services" if we use our energy more efficiently. The idea isn't new, but Taylor pushes—with good evidence—the argument to new levels.

"Ninety percent or more of the solution to our energy problems will come from improvements in energy productivity," he concludes; "10 percent or less from supply expansion." You'd never know it, but we're already partly on the "easy path" but in a very rocky way: Taylor argues that "improvements in energy productivity have met nearly two-thirds of the growth in demand for energy services since 1973." Not only does the easy path free us from dependence on nuclear power and the synthesis of fuels from coal or oil shale, Taylor also argues that even if they were pushed to their utmost they have little potential to replace oil and natural gas. What contribution they could make comes at extremely high cost both in dollars and environmental harm. For example, if nuclear power replaced all of oil and gas used for electricity by the 25 major non-communist industrial countries, Taylor argues, oil consumption would drop only 12 percent—and the dangers of nuclear power would be greater.

Taylor's plan assumes no major technological breakthroughs and an extremely modest contribution from renewable energy: only 17 percent of the total by 2025, compared with predictions that solar sources could provide 25 percent of U.S. energy needs by the year 2000, according to the President's Council on Environmental Quality. Coal production would increase 50 percent between 1975 and 2025, and hydropower by 50 percent by 2000, but nuclear power would drop out by the late 1980s. Overall consumption would grow at 1 percent per year until 1990, leveling off in the next 20 years, then declining at 1 percent per year afterwards.

What's even more striking is the simplicity of Taylor's proposals. First, improve motor vehicle efficiency by revising the new car mileage tests conducted by the Environmental Protection Agency to reflect real fuel efficiency on the road and set more demanding standards for trucks. Second, improve the efficiency of housing, especially of low-income people, by the roughly 50 percent that most experts say is easily attainable. Third, set higher efficiency standards for appliances and devise electricity rate structures that will provide basic energy for consumers from low-cost older facilities but charge marginally increasing prices for large-scale energy users (to reflect escalating costs of power plant construction). Fourth, in anticipation of the coming natural gas surplus (remember how there was a shortage just before gas prices were decontrolled?), industry should be allowed to substitute gas for oil.

(Copies of "The Easy Path Energy Plan" and "Energy: The Easy Path" are available from the Union of Concerned Scientists, 1208 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.)

(Almost) no nukes.

Taylor may be too conservative in his projection, even though by comparison with the Schlesinger-Carter-Exxon strategy his plan seems simply radical as well as radically simple. A study just completed by Rich Carlson, David Freedman and Robert Scott, research associates at Barry Commoner's Center for Biology of Natural Systems, concludes that 63 of the 71 currently licensed nuclear power plants can be shut down immediately "with no loss in electric output or reliability. The remaining eight plants can be phased out in the next few years; and all new nuclear plants expected to come on line by 1987...can be cancelled, also with no shortage in needed power."

Because electricity demand has been growing so much more slowly than utility forecasts in recent years, there is substantial excess capacity in all but two of the "bulk power regions" of the country. Power can also be shifted within regions fairly easily and even "wheeled" between regions occasionally for peak requirements, although it's inefficient to do so. Fossil fuel plants now are run at far less than their capacity since nuclear plants are still—compared especially with the older coal plants—cheaper and more profitable to operate. (That is changing. See *ITT*, April 11). The shutdown would increase total coal consumption by 8.9 percent and oil consumption by 3.4 percent, with concomitant increases in air pollution until new scrubbing equipment could be installed. The economic cost would be an increase of 4.8 percent in the nation's electric bill, about \$1 a month per average family.

In five out of nine of the bulk power regions, projected demand would require some alternative electrical generation beyond anticipated non-nuclear generating plants. The study by Carlson, Freedman and Scott concluded that hydroelectric power (including use of small dams with new, efficient turbines), industrial cogeneration (producing heat and electricity from the same boiler) and residential or commercial cogeneration (using smaller units appropriate for a building or community) could be put in place immediately to meet that need, with solar heating, photovoltaic cells, windmills and other options opening up in the near future.

(The report is scheduled to appear in a future issue of *Environment*.)

(Next week: Carter's solar plan, the synthetic fuel rush, gasohol and the economic impact of OPEC and the industrial powers' summit meetings.)

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Truckers: "Let Carter eat peanuts"

By Laura Cianci

DESPITE VICE PRESIDENT Walter Mondale's claim late last week that the truckers were going back to work, leaders of the Independent Truckers Association (ITA) around the country and of the Independent Truckers Unity Coalition (ITUC) insist that the independents will not go back to work until they have a firm guarantee that the government will accede to their demands.

The independents are seeking:

- Fuel cost relief and guaranteed allocation of gas
- Revision of government regulation of the trucking industry
- Uniformity of standard weight throughout the nation
- A raise in the 55 mph speed limit for trucks

In addition, most leaders of the independent truckers said they would, as a last resort, demand the nationalization of the oil industry.

The offer by the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to allow owner-operator truckers to collect a 2 percent surcharge from the regulated carriers who hire them was rejected by ITA as inflationary, since the surcharge would be passed on to consumers. What they want instead is a revision of the ICC regulations that will free them from the necessity to lease their rigs to the trucking companies (called common carriers) and to pay 25 percent of their fees in order to carry any goods but those exempted by the ICC.

In the three weeks (at press time) since the independents went on strike, they have blockaded fuel refineries, food distribution centers and truck stops to create what is being described as a crisis in the food produce industry. Cherries in Washington, peaches in South Carolina, watermelons in Florida, tomatoes in Alabama are rotting in the fields and on the loading docks in the South and West because there are no trucks to ship them.

Food produce plants are shutting down because they cannot get produce. Thousands of industrial workers have been laid off because of the strike. Gasoline supplies have dwindled as truckers hobbled major fuel distribution terminals.

Truckers who did not join the work stoppage were targets of arson and gunfire. Trucks in Illinois, Utah, Virginia, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Minnesota were reportedly shot at. One trucker was killed and at least three others wounded since the shutdown.

At least eight states called out the National Guard to protect gasoline distribution facilities. In some, helicopters patrol the interstate highways.

The ITA does not sanction the violence, according to Richard Lave, spokesperson for the Tennessee ITA chapter. "We want none of it."

George J. Oberg, ITA New England representative in Massachusetts, said truckers there are working with state and local police to prevent violence. ITA has warned truckers to stay home.

"Most of the Los Angeles-based truckers are sitting at home," said Mac Vernon, ITA representative for the National Headquarters in Los Angeles. "We have had very few incidents of violence."

Independents pay own fuel costs.

Vernon estimates that truckers use an average of 25,000 gallons of fuel a year, for which they bear the entire cost. As a result of the rise of fuel costs, he said, independents have had a 25 percent reduction in income this year. "These men cannot stay in business at that rate of increase without some relief."

The ICC surcharge represents only one-third of the increase in fuel cost that we have had to bear since January of this year," Jake Sensor, president of the Illinois chapter of ITA told ITT.

In addition, the surcharge does not

benefit independents who do not lease their rigs to common carriers, since the ICC only regulates the licensed carriers.

In response to Mondale's call for an end to the strike, Vernon said, "If the government takes that attitude we are going to do the same thing Carter said he'd do to Kennedy: whip his ass. No way will the truckers go back to work without an agreement in writing. Let Carter eat peanuts. They are not getting any California produce."

Oscar Williams, a representative of the New England ITA, agreed with Vernon. "Five years ago they promised us all of these things, but so far they haven't done a thing. We wouldn't be on strike today if the government had done what they promised in 1974," Williams said.

The ICC regulations that govern what can be hauled by the independents puts them at the mercy of the common carriers. Drivers who carry a load of produce, which is exempt from the regulations, from California to the East Coast, must lease their rigs for a return haul or go back empty, since it is very difficult to find a shipment, except for agriculture products, of goods not controlled by the common carriers.

A 90-day backhaul privilege from ICC, said Vernon, would permit truckers to carry commodities that are now restricted to common carriers and would allow them to collect 100 percent of the cost for shipping, thereby eliminating the middleman. This additional 25 percent will offset the rising cost of fuel and maintenance. "ICC suspended the backhaul ruling during the last two snowstorms and they can do it again," said Vernon. The ITA is demanding passage of HB2777—which would provide permanent backhaul privileges without cutting present rates.

Fuel costs could put them out of business.

In addition to backhaul privileges, the independents are demanding fuel price relief and a guarantee of 100 percent of their fuel needs.

"If we don't get that relief we will be out of business," Sensor said. "What the public does not understand is that owner-operator truckers who do not lease to common carrier companies risk ruin when they accept a shipment of perishable goods without a guarantee of fuel to reach their destination."

"When an independent trucker loads his truck," he said, "he theoretically owns the products until he delivers them. If the

trucker is unable to obtain fuel and, as a result, the produce he is carrying perishes, the trucker is liable for the cost. An owner-operator cannot absorb such a loss," said Sensor, estimating the loss could run as high as \$35-40,000. Cargo insurance provides coverage only for loss attributable to accidents, he said.

The ICC asked truck stop operators to give priority to independents carrying perishable goods. But "truck stop operators refuse to act as policemen—deciding who gets fuel and who doesn't," continued Sensor, "and they shouldn't have to."

The question inevitably arises in any discussion with the independents, why not apply for ICC authority just as the common carriers do, thereby eliminating the control the carriers have over their destinies? Vernon replies that the application for ICC authorization is too expensive, considering that there is no guarantee that it will be granted.

Furthermore, a carrier operating in an area where an independent is applying for a license can object to the application request. Under the regulations, the applicant must prove that his or her area is not already being adequately served by the licensed carriers.

Carl Webber, of Arizona, spent \$30,000 trying to obtain ICC authority to haul lumber. He was unable to get authoriza-

tion and he contends he was forced into bankruptcy as a result of his efforts.

Donald Tepper, representative of the American Trucking Association (ATA) in Washington, contradicted the independents' contention that it is difficult to obtain a license, saying it was a virtual certainty that an applicant's request would be honored. Of all applications for ICC authority, he said, 98 percent are granted. In fact, he said, 92 percent are granted without modifications of the original application request. Both ICC and ATA said they do not know how many owner-operators have ICC authority. However, Tepper admitted, most owner-operators who carry non-exempt goods work under a lease agreement with a regulated carrier.

When asked if the ATA common carrier companies have a monopoly on carrying goods that are not exempt, Tepper told ITT that he strongly disagreed.

"We have competition from different modes of transportation—trains, airlines, and barges. It is simply not true that we have a monopoly."

The independents do not agree. Oscar Williams said, "It appears that we have gotten the federal government officials out of bed. Perhaps by the holiday we will arrive at an acceptable solution in writing to our grievances from those agencies."

Weber bid rejected

In the struggle to gain upgrading for minorities, a major victory was won last week when the Supreme Court rejected Brian Weber's suit to end voluntary affirmative action programs. In a 5-2 decision, with Justices Potter Stewart, Byron White, Thurgood Marshall and Harry Blackmun voting with William Brennan for the majority, the Court held that such programs do not constitute reverse discrimination against whites and therefore do not violate the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Weber had sued Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corp. in Gramercy, Ala., and the United Steelworkers after he was refused entrance to a training program while blacks with less seniority were placed in the program. Kaiser had set black-white quotas for the program to alleviate an imbalance in the number of whites and blacks in skilled jobs (see ITT, April 11).

In his opinion, Brennan stated, "It would be ironic indeed if a law triggered by the nation's concern over centuries of racial injustice and intended to improve the lot of those who had been excluded from the American dream for so long constituted the first legislative prohibition of all voluntary, private race-conscious efforts to abolish traditional patterns of racial segregation and hierarchy."

Brennan noted that "the plan is a temporary measure; it is not intended to maintain racial balance, but simply to eliminate a manifest imbalance."

While this decision appears to be a reversal of the Bakke case that barred a racial quota at the University of California (Davis) medical school, the distinction was made between state and private institutions and between quotas established to maintain racial balance and those designed as temporary means to eliminate imbalance.



Trucker Ron Petersen was shot at twice as he headed for the Post Office in Denver.

IN SHORT



Government employees demonstrate at the White House to protest Carter's wage lid.

Federal workers reject Carter's wage cap

WASHINGTON—"Federal employees are entitled to the same treatment as everyone else!" declared Bill Lucy of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to an audience of 5,000 federal government workers outside the White House last Thursday, June 15. Lucy's union had come together with nine others—representing fully 60 percent of the government's 2.5 million employees—to celebrate "Public Employees Awareness Day."

To the background tune of "A Dollar Ain't a Dollar Anymore," union and congressional representatives blasted the proposed "reforms" of the federal pay

system that President Carter recently sent to Capitol Hill. These proposals—which, if adopted, will cause many federal workers to lose expected pay raises until their salaries and benefits fall in line with the private sector—have exacerbated the unions' anger at the 5.5 percent wage cap imposed on their members for the second straight year.

Government workers feel they are being singled out for special duty in the battle against inflation. "You cannot ask the federal employee to accept the 5.5 [percent ceiling] while industry has only voluntary 7 percent wage and price guidelines," said Kenneth Blaylock, president of the Ameri-

can Federation of Government Employees, the largest federal union. He emphasized the rally's significance to ITT. "This is the first time all these groups have gotten together. The federal worker has to become involved in the political process."

It was clear from the turnout that federal employees, if they stick together, will emerge with formidable political clout in the 1980 elections. Although union officials stopped short (for the moment) of endorsing any presidential candidate, banners supporting Ted Kennedy were much in evidence and one of the event's most popular chants was "Get ready, Teddy!"

—A. Lin Neumann

NATION

Women protest Medicaid cuts

CINCINNATI—More than 1,500 persons, including representatives of 37 women's groups, gathered in Washington Park in Cincinnati Saturday June 23 to protest the Right to Life organization's efforts to deny poor women the right to obtain an abortion.

"To the chant of "Right to Lifers are going to lose; women demand the right to choose," the demonstrators marched from the park, which is located in a depressed area of the city, through the downtown business section to the Serpentine Wall built along the shoreline of the Ohio River.

In 80-degree heat, during the hour-long march the women voiced their opposition to recent fire-bombings of abortion clinics, the cutting of Medicaid funds for abortions and the Hyde Amendment.

The demonstrators, angry about the Recent House Appropriations Committee vote (see ITT, June 20) that tightened the already restrictive guidelines of the Hyde Amendment for Medicaid-funded abortions by allowing payments only in cases where a woman's life is in danger by a full-term pregnancy, view that decision as a denial of economically disadvantaged women's right to make decisions about abortion in light of their own consciences and religious beliefs.

Although most of the marchers were from the Midwest, representatives from New York, Massachusetts and California also participated. "It took a strong women's movement to win the right to have an abortion and the Right to Life organization is not going to take it away," said a

representative of the year-old Reproductive Rights National Network that co-sponsored the march and rally with the Abortion Rights Committee.

Elsie van Pragg, of Columbus, Ohio, said, "I want to see free abortion or cheap ones for the poor people." Pragg, who came to this country from England in 1976, said that at that time a person could get an abortion in England free under the International Health Insurance plan. "Middle-class people can always find a way," she said. "It is the poor person who suffers."

"The Right to Life group doesn't care about the quality of life—they want to impose their middle-class view on others," said Chicago attorney Nancy Tripp.

The huge Cincinnati sports stadium, home of the Cincinnati Reds, loomed in the background as the demonstrators entered the public boat landing on their way to the Serpentine Wall. The attendants on the boats and ferries docked on the boat landing stared silently as a small group of marchers chanted, "Not the church, not the state, women will decide their fate, to smash the church and smash the state." Reproductive rights organizers quickly acted to stop that radical call to violence, substituting the song, "We Shall Not Be Moved."

While Right to Lifers were planning their 1980 strategy across the river, the pro-choice marchers were listening to Ellen Frankfurt, author of *Rosie Jimenez*,



Vietnamese prisoners reject the clothing offered them by the Chinese as they return to their homes.

Wilfred Burchett

China-Viet exchange prisoners

HANOI—Now that China and the Soviet Union have agreed to sit down to serious talks of reconciliation, is it possible that the hostilities between China and Vietnam, two centuries old, will also end? Those of us who watched the start of the prisoner exchange between Vietnam and China, following the border war that began Feb. 17, are wondering whether the second round of talks between the two nations last week in Peking will be followed by a second round on the battlefield as Teng Hsiao-ping predicted earlier.

There were ominous signs of an increasing Chinese military build-up along the frontier, including heavy artillery emplacements and roads being built to strategic jumping-off points.

If there is to be a next time, it appears that Chinese invaders will be met by units of Vietnam's regular army as well as the local self-defense forces.

In the meantime, however, the Chinese and Vietnamese are exchanging "captured personnel," as agreed in the first round of talks last April. The exchange started on

May 21 at "Friendship Gate," the frontier point in the Langson Pass.

Following the first short meeting on May 21, 120 Vietnamese sick and wounded were exchanged against 43 Chinese. It was subsequently agreed that the exchanges would continue until June 22, by which time 1,518 Vietnamese and 240 Chinese would be handed over.

The reason for the discrepancy in numbers is implicit in the Vietnamese use of the term "captured personnel," instead of the customary "prisoners of war," when they proposed the exchange on the opening day of the Hanoi talks.

They suggested this as an urgent matter so that those captured "could be speedily reunited with their families." It was a subtle way of indicating that most of the "captured personnel" were civilians who had nothing to do with the war, and that the Chinese regular army had been stopped by Vietnamese local self-defense militia—not by regular units of the Vietnamese People's Army.

—Wilfred Burchett

WORLD

Call for U.S.-Cuban normalization

NEW YORK—The largest group of Cuban exiles to call for normalization of U.S.-Cuban relations met on June 26, with Viron Vaky, Assistant Secretary of State for InterAmerican Affairs, to deliver more than 10,000 signatures from Cubans on an open letter to President Carter calling for complete normalization of ties with Cuba.

The group will also meet with Ramon Sanchez Parodi, head of the Cuban Interest Section of the State Department, numerous senators and representatives, the Democratic and Republican National Committees and a group representing the interests of companies expropriated by the Cuban government in the early '60s.

The more than 10,000 Cubans who have signed the open letter to the President include residents of every major Cuban community in the U.S.—particularly Miami, New York, New Jersey, Los Angeles and Puerto Rico. The letter states that the "foremost concerns" among Cuban-Americans are "the reunification of Cuban families and the situation of political prisoners in Cuba," asserting that "the best way to deal with these concerns is to move towards full normalization."

"The signatures reflect the massive shift in favor of normalization within the Cuban community in the last few years," declared Juan Jose Arrom, Professor Emeritus at Yale University and a member of the Committee.

A representative of the Committee reported that surveys in the Miami area indicate that "a majority of Cuban-Americans are in favor of...normalization...despite pressures and even fear."

IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci except when otherwise indicated.

IN THE NATION

DEMOCRATS

ADA backs Teddy, oil nationalization

By John Judis

HOW HAS IT BEEN GOING?" I asked Leslie Lobel, who I ran into the first day of the Americans for Democratic Action's (ADA) June 21-24 convention at Washington's Mayflower Hotel. Lobel had gone to work last fall as ADA's domestic lobbyist and had helped organize the Ad Hoc Coalition against Carter's 1980 budget cutbacks.

Lobel shrugged. "When people ask me what the liberal agenda is, I tell them, 'close your eyes and go to sleep.'"

I immediately had a sinking feeling I should have stayed in Chicago. My newfound optimism, born of election victories in Chicago and Cleveland and a renters' rebellion in California, was once again going to be crushed beneath the weight of liberal Washington despair.

But by the end of ADA's 52nd annual convention, even Lobel was shaking her head and smiling. Some 500 delegates and observers had voted to create an "irresistible national mandate" for Sen. Ted Kennedy or, failing that, to seek "an alternative progressive candidate" to Jimmy Carter. They had also called for nationalizing the energy industry, establishing strict controls over corporate prices, passing SALT II, cutting the defense budget, installing a national health service, and ousting Nicaraguan Gen. Anastasio Somoza.

Insofar as ADA remains the largest liberal or left Democratic organization in the country (official estimate: 55,000 dues-paying members; unofficial about 30,000), its actions signalled an important shift from passive depression over Carter's policies to anger and action. Insofar as ADA was the penultimate Cold War liberal organization, they also signified a change in liberalism itself, which, as it confronts the dilemmas of a post-boom capitalist world, is increasingly sloughing off its Cold War coloration in the direction of a non-interventionist democratic socialist politics.

Cold War baptism

ADA was founded in 1947 when the Cold War tore apart the Popular Front that had united communists, socialists, trade unionists, and Roosevelt Democrats. The Communists and Communist-led trade unions went into Henry Wallace's anti-Cold War Progressive Citizens of America, which became the Progressive party. Most of the socialists, CIO unionists and liberal Democrats went into ADA.

ADA stood for uncompromising opposition to Communism at home and abroad and the fulfillment of Roosevelt's New Deal through such measures as full employment planning, national health insurance and public housing. With leaders like Eleanor Roosevelt, United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther, and theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, as well as eager recruits like Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Hubert H. Humphrey, ADA had its heyday in the late '40s and early '50s. But its opposition to McCarthyism and its continuing espousal of "socialistic" economic measures made it a target for conservative Republicans and Democrats, who ironically began to brand ADAers as Communists.

ADA revived during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, but it suffered a near-fatal split in 1968, when most of its labor membership quit over the endorsement of Eugene McCarthy for president. Only in the last three years, under

the pressures of adversity, have the unions begun to come back into the fold. "We must, for the survival of every gain we have made since the Civil War, and, indeed, for the survival of democracy in this country, re-establish unity," William H. Wynn of the newly merged United Food and Commercial Workers told the convention.

At the convention, officials from the United Auto Workers and from 19 different AFL-CIO unions were in attendance. William Winpisinger's Machinists brought over 20 staff and regional leaders.

The return of the unions, along with the growing Democratic estrangement from Jimmy Carter, has recently swelled ADA's ranks and has permitted its leadership to dream of regaining their old influence in national politics.

Dump Carter.

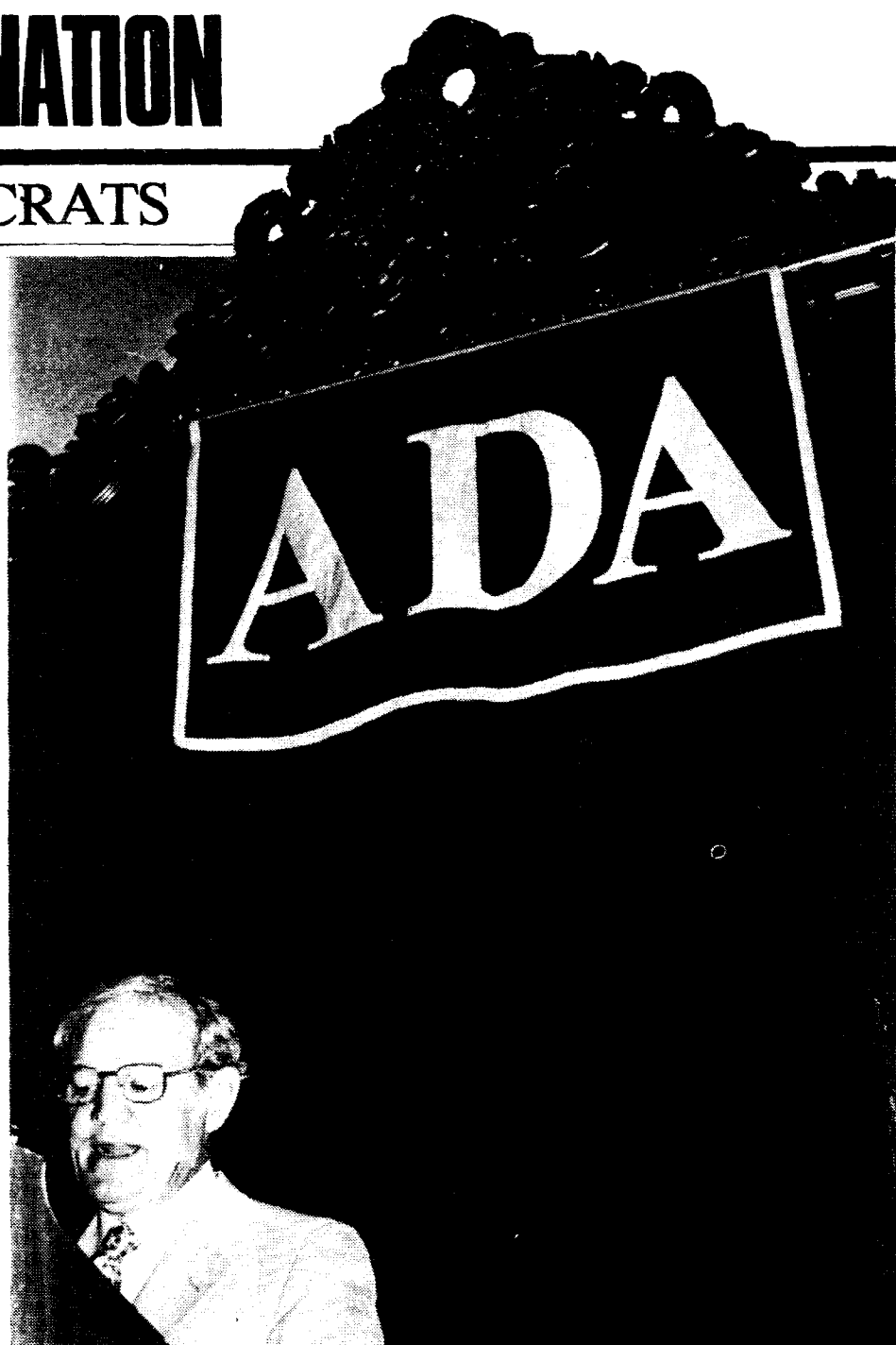
ADA's active membership is largely composed of white-collar professionals. Its largest functioning chapters are in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Chicago (where ADA is the Independent Voters of Illinois/Independent Precinct Organization). These chapters wield some power as endorsers and also as a financial network for aspiring candidates. At the convention, a surprisingly large Youth Caucus (about a third of whom turned out to be Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee members) was also present, and it managed to convince the older ADAers of the undesirability of the draft and nuclear power and the harmfulness of marijuana.

The move to back Kennedy in favor of Carter was spearheaded by the Machinists, who drafted a militant resolution that termed Carter "a one-way ticket to defeat and a trip to a party bankrupt of principles and office holders in 1980." The Machinists' resolution held out no prospect of ADA endorsing Carter in 1980, even if he faced a conservative Republican in the general election.

Except for the delegates from Puerto Rico and former Secretary of Education in Massachusetts, Paul Parks, no one supported Carter. Parks argued feebly for Carter on the basis that Kennedy would never run. When Carter administration member Stuart Eizenstat, speaking at a debate the first night, likened the ADA opposition to Carter to its opposition to Humphrey in 1968, he was greeted with hisses. The next evening Carter administration members Anne Wexler and Joe Duffey didn't even bother showing up for the ADA banquet.

But there was considerable anxiety, especially among older ADA members like New York businessman Marvin Rosenberg and labor lawyer Joseph Rauh, that ADA would be "closing the door" to any reconciliation with Carter, if Kennedy did not run and Carter faced a conservative Republican. The morning before the vote on the resolution, the Machinists and Rauh worked out a compromise that retained the strong backing of Kennedy, but held open the possibility of ADA backing Carter.

Outside of Winpisinger, who termed his position "ABC—anything but Carter"—there was no support for Jerry Brown. Californian David Mixner's "touchy-feely" defense of Brown ("He has appointed people with feelings") brought titters from the crowd. When someone introduced an amendment to ADA's resolution stating that Jerry Brown should not be considered an "alternative progressive candidate" in the event Kennedy doesn't run, the resolu-



William H. Wynn of the United Food and Commercial Workers addresses the ADA meeting June 23.

tion was defeated because it was "redundant." Few considered the post-Prop 13 Brown a "progressive."

"This is socialism!"

ADA's endorsement of Kennedy will have the most immediate impact on Washington politics. Besides prodding Kennedy, it will also make other liberal Democrats like George McGovern consider a challenge to Carter. But ADA's espousal of nationalization and of price but not wage controls was probably as significant.

With world capitalism stagnating and the virulent anti-Communism of the '40s increasingly in disrepute, liberalism is at another crossroads. Liberals who remain committed to the ideals of liberty and equality have either had to turn ironic and philosophical in the face of seeming limitations on the power of government to alleviate misery and class conflict, or they have had to reconsider their faith in corporate capitalism.

Hearing the dour Eizenstat, one realizes how much the Carter administration had adopted Brown's era-of-limits philosophy. Eizenstat explained the Carter administration's shortcomings on inflation and energy as the result of partisan politics and the inadequacies of nature. "We are living in an era that delimits what we want to do," Eizenstat said.

Eizenstat, Carter and Brown are, in fact, returning to the disillusioned worldview of the anti-Communist liberals like Schlesinger Jr. and Niebuhr who founded ADA. Where they spoke of the ironies of history and man's imperfection, Eizenstat *et al.* speak of scarce natural resources and a benighted Congress.

At the ADA convention, some of the older members, as well as some of the well-connected lawyers and enlightened businessmen, shuddered at the talk of nationalization. "This is socialism!" I heard one Philadelphia lawyer mutter in disbelief as the resolution on nationalization was read. At the ADA banquet, businessman Eugene Lang, who was being honored for his long service to ADA, warned the delegates that they should not see business as a "monolithic enemy." Referring both to nationalization and the decision to control only corporate prices, he cautioned them to see *all* the major so-

cial institutions—labor as well as business—as imperfect and in need of reform.

But most of the delegates saw an irreconcilable conflict between the public interest and the private ownership of the energy industry. When the resolution to nationalize was introduced, one delegate even decided it didn't go far enough. ADA should call for nationalizing the industry and resources, he argued, so that synthetic fuels and solar energy would be publicly developed. His amendment was adopted.

"Energy is where Carter finally tripped the nerve wire of the American people," Winpisinger told the delegates.

It may have also tripped the nerve wire of corporate liberalism.

Needed: a movement.

But I can't end on such an optimistic note. At least two final reservations are in order:

•ADA's call for nationalization is of more historical than practical significance. As Leslie Lobel acknowledged at the convention's end, ADA's primary activity is lobbying, and one cannot lobby for or against a bill that has no or few sponsors. A national political movement will be necessary to put these demands on the political agenda.

•ADA's unwavering commitment to Kennedy (the delegates burst into "We want Teddy" after the presidential resolution was adopted) may eventually come into conflict with their nascent anti-corporate convictions. At the same time as they were urging nationalization, etc., Kennedy was busy watering down his already watered down national health insurance bill to bring it more in line with the catastrophic Carter and Russell Long proposals. When I pointed this out to one National Board member, he dismissed Kennedy's compromise as pre-campaign politics. Kennedy's moving to the right, he said, was a sign that he was really going to run. And *if* he runs, and *if* he wins, then...ah, the future will be ours.

Or will it be?

There are still some more crossroads at which ADA and the rest of the Democratic left will have to arrive before it can match its convictions with its capabilities.

ELECTION 1980



John A. Walsh (right), Carter's new national organizational director for the 1980 election in the campaign headquarters with Mark Roosevelt (left), his assistant, and Teddy Roosevelt's great grandson.

"There's still time for a cure for Carter"

By Sidney Blumenthal

BOSTON

I VISITED JOHN A. WALSH JR. THE day before he left his Boston home to assume his duties as national organizational director of Jimmy Carter's 1980 reelection campaign. Walsh is a practiced political operative who has run Boston Mayor Keven White's campaigns and the 1974 campaign of former Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis. Carter's new campaign chief is an urban liberal, a close friend of Pat Caddell, the president's pollster.

When I rang Walsh's doorbell he was writing his first memo on campaign strategy while watching a basketball game on TV. His reasons for signing up with Carter are completely political; it's a calculated gamble. Walsh has certain goals he wants to attain, and the 1980 campaign offers a way to achieve some of them.

"I'm to the left of Carter," he readily admits. "I have my own integrity. And I'm way to the left of Reagan. It's not a good time for liberals. Liberals are going to lose a lot in the next few years. The decline of the party has had a lot to do with that. There's no place to orchestrate a philosophy.

A liberal who signed on as Carter's campaign boss says it's a calculated gamble.

"But we're not going to allow somebody who's anti-labor to get votes from people when he's against their life blood. That's the political problem. That's what the campaign has to do. You have to remind people that you're labor's candidate.

"My major motivation is that I think we're going into a Republican year. Reagan isn't going to leave anything behind if he gets in. The campaign will try to raise that issue early enough so Carter doesn't lose the primaries. Nobody's focused on the alternatives."

The Carter strategy, elaborated by Walsh, is essentially defensive, perhaps opening the president to potential disaster in the primaries.

"You have to organize to win the general election," Walsh says. "You hope you don't blow the primaries. In 1976, Carter operated on the assumption that as a Democrat he would win the general election. So he focused on the primaries."

In a Republican year, Carter must direct attention to the external threat posed by right-wing Republicans. By doing this, Walsh sees Carter consolidating his position within the party during the primaries. A chain reaction is supposed to occur, with the danger looming on the horizon catalyzing the party faithful to back Carter. Making the Democrats look forward to the November finale, according to the plan, buttresses Carter's standing in the party.

Walsh himself is strongly motivated by apprehension of right-wing victories.

In particular, the Massachusetts Democratic gubernatorial primary in 1978 between liberal incumbent Michael Dukakis and conservative Edward King, ending in a smashing King triumph, haunts him.

Walsh believes there are important lessons to be learned from Dukakis' failure. "In the Dukakis experience," he reflects, "an incumbent governor with sound policies, personally honest, still lost because he never put forward a broad agenda; he had no grand strategy. Nobody ever sat down and asked what his campaign should do." Carter suffers from a similar affliction, in Walsh's view. The symptoms are evident, but there's still time for a cure. "Carter hasn't demonstrated his leadership yet," he says. "I know he has great leadership, but he hasn't exercised it by giving the country a sense of direction. In this campaign he's going to have to put forward his perception of where the country's going. This campaign is that opportunity."

Walsh doesn't view Carter's 1976 campaign as a model; imitating history might be a calamity. "His last campaign wasn't used for what a campaign can be used for—educating the electorate," Walsh contends. "The problem with the outsider challenge is that an outsider doesn't explain his perception of the future. It may be endemic to being an outsider."

However, early reports filtering out of the White House indicate that Hamilton Jordan, whose prescient memo on the 1976 campaign guided much of Carter's movements, has penned another memo on the 1980 race, in which he proposes to embellish the old image. In this scenario, Carter would present himself as an insider, able to decisively affect events, and as an outsider, fighting Washington's special interests on the public's behalf. So far, Carter has the worst of both images, blamed as an outsider for his inability to accomplish things and blamed as an insider for whatever does happen. The new Jordan strategy reads like a rationalization for the president's inconsistency.

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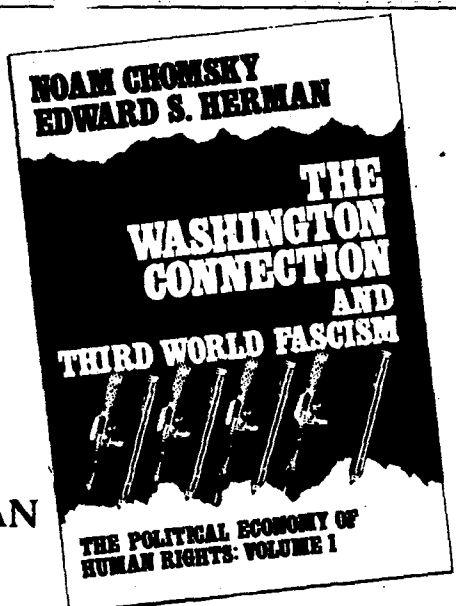
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By Laura Nilges

ZION, ILL.

WHAT WILL ALL THOSE utilities around the country do when the current waste disposal sites are all filled and the citizens of the nation succeed in preventing the construction of more storage dumps?

Of course, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's Atomic Safety and Licensing Board may grant, over the intense opposition of the local citizens, licenses to build facilities to the various utilities who are applying for them. But the trend away from building new nuclear facilities, for whatever purpose, is gaining momentum.

"The board is concentrating on one small aspect—spent fuel. The board is not interested in the totality. But that's the whole problem—100,000 bureaucrats looking at the problem, saying, 'This, in all probability, will work.' Put together the 100,000 probabilities and you have a catastrophe," said Dan Ferri, a spokesman for the Chiwaukee Radio-activists, at the end of the first week of hearings before the licensing board to determine whether Commonwealth Edison should be granted an increase in the capacity of its on-site spent nuclear fuel storage facility at Zion, Ill., near Chicago.

Ferri's comment was similar to those made during public testimony by individuals and representatives of other anti-nuclear groups who said they doubted the reliability of technological means of measuring the risks or consequences of an accident in Zion's storage facility.

Commonwealth Edison has applied for an increase in their current capacity of 868 assemblies to one of 2,112 assemblies, which would be reached by 1992. Without the increase, the storage pool would be filled by the mid-70s, when, with no other operating site to receive the fuel, it would be forced to shut down.

Activists outlined several possible accidents that could occur in the storage pool. One of the most serious, according to Marvin Resnikoff, a consultant for the Sierra Club, is the boiling of coolant water in the pool, which controls the flow



At nuclear plants and weapons factories all across the country, barrels of highly radioactive nuclear waste

Another storage dump

of heat away from rods of spent fuel.

But Edison said the accident is unlikely, since one of the only conditions under which it could occur would be during breakdowns occurring in independent and redundant cooling systems.

Threats of a loss of coolant through leakage in the pool lining as a result of an airplane crash or earthquake, were allowed for in the design of the plant, a spokesman said.

While Edison repeatedly contended that the increase in risk of accident due to the increase in capacity is "negligible," activists countered that the consequences of any accident that does occur would become much graver as the pool fills to capacity.

Resnikoff and Catherine Quigg, an environmental researcher, point out that

when the pool is loaded with 2,112 assemblies—1,056 metric tons of waste—it would contain cesium and strontium equivalent to that contained in the fuel in 11 reactor cores.

A serious accident in the reactor, contaminating the site for long periods of time, would make it impossible for workers to enter the area to operate the manual controls that feed back-up water into the storage pool if drainage does occur.

The Zion hearing is symptomatic of what one person called in his testimony the "dead end of the nuclear fuel cycle."

In 1977, when Carter indefinitely banned commercial reprocessing—the separation of plutonium and unburned uranium from waste—he blocked a disposal agenda that had been tentative at best.

Whether or not the ban is lifted, there

already exist 70 million gallons of extremely radioactive wastes from government reprocessing, and 612,000 gallons generated by a now-defunct commercial reprocessing plant in West Valley, N.Y.

The Waste Isolation Pilot Project site in Carlsbad, N.M., is plagued by geological impediments such as the presence of a fault, and has been opposed by environmentalists. The gift of Getty and Skelly Oil to the State of New York—highly radioactive waste stored in leaking casks in West Valley—has not been received with gratitude by state residents. Test drilling for waste disposal has been blocked in four states.

"It's an interesting trend," said Resnikoff in Zion, commenting about state opposition. "We're moving toward a major confrontation."

LABOR

Electrical workers will ignore guidelines

By Josh Martin

NEW YORK

WHILE ABOUT A WEEK away from news," said John Shambo, chief negotiator for Electrical Workers at General Electric, alluding to the present contract's June 30 expiration date during a break in negotiations being conducted in New York City. Shambo, a member of the 13-union Coordinated Bargaining Committee of GE-Westinghouse Unions representing over 150,000 electrical workers, is waiting to see if GE management will meet labor demands for reform of the Cost of Living Adjustment, a "substantial" wage increase, and improvements in employee pension and health plans, paving the way for similar settlements throughout the electronics industry.

The cost of living formula, based on changes in the Consumer Price Index, has emerged as one of the hot items in contract negotiations this year, as double digit inflation erases labor's previous wage gains. Shambo, who is also chairman of International Union of Electrical Workers-GE Conference Board (which represents 70,000 of GE's 120,000 unionized workers), maintains that the present contract's cost of living provision is "inadequate" since it is paid once a year and contains a 7-9 percent inflation rate "corridor" in which workers aren't protected. The unions want the formula to provide for every point the CPI rises, adjusted quarterly to reflect the inflation rate more accurately.

Shambo said that, in addition to COLA reform and wage increases for workers, he is pressing for a "30 and out" retirement plan, increased pensions for retired workers, a comprehensive dental care program, "union security" clause (i.e. union shop), and a management "commitment to neutrality" in IUE organizing campaigns.

The time length of the GE contract has not been established; union negotiators say this will depend on management response to their demands. Both sides agree labor-management relations have been good in the past—there have been only three strikes in the 40 years GE has had unions, the last occurring in 1969-70—but this relationship has soured as workers' real income shrank in the wake of this year's double-digit inflation.

Shambo has gone on record that he will "ignore" the Carter administration's 7 percent wage-price guidelines, and union sources warn that "if GE intends to stick to the guidelines there can be no long-term contract."

A spokesman for GE told *ITT* that management expects some "very intense, tough bargaining ahead," as the contract expiration date nears. However, the GE negotiators have taken a remarkably flexible attitude regarding wage-price guidelines. "It's an evolving, changing scene as far as guidelines go," said one source close to the management team. "Who knows where they'll be on June 30?"

Westinghouse, often referred to by GE unions and management negotiators as "little brother," is waiting in Pittsburgh to see what sort of contract emerges before getting down to hard bargaining with its

own unions; its present contract covering 30,000 workers expires two weeks after the GE June 30 deadline. Management fears that the GE precedent would contain added benefits and far exceed the 7 percent wage limit have prompted Westinghouse officials to put some distance between the two companies.

Westinghouse points out that it no longer makes appliances (having shifted to the manufacture of nuclear power plants) and is a far smaller company than GE, although both firms rank in the top 10 percent of the *Fortune* 500 list.

The chief issue for union negotiators at Westinghouse is job loss and the decline in union membership at Westinghouse plants. In the 1976-79 contract period alone, IUE membership dropped from 22,000 to about 18,500, often the result of company expansion or plant transfers to right-to-work states and territories abroad.

Mary Dresser, spokeswoman for the Westinghouse IUE, said that the Coordinated Bargaining Committee would be pressing for wage and benefit increases similar to those sought in the GE talks. IUE president David J. Fitzmaurice also proposed the creation of "quality of life" committees to provide an alternative channel for labor-management communications, but "deteriorating relations" have delayed steps to set up such committees in Westinghouse plants.

"There's a lot of discontent here," said Dresser. "Workers see job losses and company flight to the South, Puerto Rico and Mexico. It doesn't go over big."

Union negotiators at GE and Westinghouse point out that increased worker productivity and soaring company profits

(both companies reported first quarter profits increased over 22 percent) give them reason to believe many of their economic demands are attainable. But concern over possible White House interference in the contract talks prompted Fitzmaurice to warn that "there is no place in these talks for outside dictation.... IUE members will not be hoodwinked into believing that they have a just settlement if any attempt is made to ram an inadequate one down their throats."

Union and management observers say no early contract agreement is expected. Indeed, when asked if this year's talks would culminate in an 11th-hour cliffhanger, Shambo replied, "I've never known it to be any other way."



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MODERN TIMES
3800 17th St.—Box A
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A Reply to Joan Baez

On May 30, 1979, Joan Baez and 80 co-signers placed an "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam" as an advertisement in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Examiner* and *San Francisco Chronicle*.

The charges of human rights violations which the ad contains are extremely serious. Yet on key points of fact, documentation, and interpretation, it is inaccurate and misleading.

The Southeast Asia Resource Center has prepared this reply to the "Open Letter."

1 The U.S. Role

The Baez ad begins by equating the human rights policy of the Vietnamese government with the policies of the French, Japanese, and American occupation forces in Vietnam.

Consider the record: The U.S. government dropped 4 million tons of bombs on Vietnam between 1965 and 1973, in a war which killed 1.7 million people and wounded another 2 million. Largely as the result of U.S. policies aimed at forcing peasants into U.S.-controlled urban areas, 10 million Vietnamese were made refugees during the war. Millions of gallons of Agent Orange, the defoliant chemical containing the deadly poison dioxin, were dropped on Vietnam's forests, jungles, and rice paddies. Today as a result, the incidence of liver cancer, miscarriage, and birth defects in southern Vietnam is unusually high.

The U.S. spent \$150 billion to make war in Vietnam. For seven years, it maintained an occupying army there, which at points numbered more than half a million men, in a futile effort to maintain one corrupt, repressive Saigon regime after another. The cruelty, violence, and oppression practiced by our own government during its 20-year "presence" in Vietnam would be hard for the current Vietnamese government to match.

2 Torture

The casual lumping together of arrest and detention with torture is the sort of irresponsible charge that respected human rights organizations such as Amnesty International avoid, unless they have conclusive evidence. *Amnesty International's* 1977 and 1978 reports on Vietnam do not list a single verified incident of torture. The original draft of the "Open Letter," which was used to convince the long list of signers to endorse the ad publicly, charged that "hundreds of thousands" were being tortured. Why was this figure changed to the "thousands" which appears in the published version?

3 Prisoners

This estimate of the number of prisoners was offered to the *Washington Post* (Dec. 20, 1978) by the U.S. State Department—hardly the "independent observer" cited in the "Open Letter." The claims of some refugees that the figure is many times higher are not considered reliable by Amnesty International.

President Jimmy Carter
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Mr. President:

I urge you to normalize US relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, to end the trade embargo, and to offer economic assistance to the Vietnamese people. The hardships facing the Vietnamese in the aftermath of the U.S.-Indochina war have been increased by our government's harsh post-war policy.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Signature _____

4 Credibility

A single refugee named Doan Van Toai is the principal source for three of the four "verified" reports mentioned here. With only a few inquiries, however, Toai's story begins to unravel.

Toai's most dramatic charges stem from two 1977 "manifestos on human rights" which he says he smuggled out of Vietnam. One manifesto, reportedly signed by 49 prisoners, is a scathing indictment of conditions in Vietnam's prisons. The other, which Toai says led to the arrest of the eight prominent residents of Saigon who wrote it, condemns the policies of the government in the society at large. Toai claims to have recalled from memory the long text of the manifestos and the names of the 57 signers—after having lost the original copies.

But are these manifestos real? Two of the eight people Toai claims were imprisoned for writing the second manifesto actually had nothing to do with it and have not been imprisoned by the current government. Professor Ton That Duong Ky, former Vice-President of the National Liberation Front, was visited at his Saigon home by a British man last August. Professor Ky was amused at the false stories of his arrest, and denounced Toai as a liar, and Toai's manifesto as a fake. Professor Pham Bieu Tam, another of the men who Toai claims wrote "every day that passes is one more day of torture and suffering for millions of Vietnamese," is currently (June 1979) leading a delegation of 15 Vietnamese intellectuals on a friendly tour of the Soviet Union.

Toai's own record also makes his testimony suspect. In 1970 and 1971, Toai toured the United States. Although he claimed to represent the Saigon Student Union, he opposed a cut-off of U.S. military aid to the Thieu regime. In fact, the president of the Student Union told American peace activists at the time that Toai actually represented a dummy student union organized by the Thieu government.

Ms. Joan Baez
Humanitas/Intl. Human Rights Committee
PO Box 1026
Menlo Park, CA 94025

Ms. Baez:

I too am concerned about human rights, but I believe that charges of serious violations must be documented before highly-publicized attacks are made. Contrary to its claims, your "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam" contains many unverified and irresponsible charges from questionable sources. Your concern for the Vietnamese people would be better directed toward a campaign for normal diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Vietnam, and fulfillment of past U.S. aid commitments to Vietnam.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Signature _____

OPEN LETTER TO THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

Four years ago, the United States ended its 20-year presence in Vietnam. An anniversary that should be cause for celebration is, instead, a time for grieving.

With tragic irony, the cruelty, violence and oppression practiced by foreign powers in your country for more than a century continue today under the present regime.

Thousands of innocent Vietnamese, many whose only "crimes" are those of contempt for the government, are being arrested, detained and imprisoned in prisons and re-education camps. Instead of bringing hope and reconciliation to war-torn Vietnam, your government has created a painful nightmare that shadows significant progress achieved in many areas of Vietnamese society.

Your government stated in February 1977 that some 50,000 people were then incarcerated. Journalists, independent observers and refugees estimate the current number of political prisoners between 150,000 and 200,000.

Whatever the exact figure, the facts form a grim mosaic. Verified reports have appeared in the press around the globe. *Washington Post* and *The Observer* to the heard the horror stories from the people of Vietnam—from workers and peasants, Catholic nuns and Buddhist priests, from boat people, the artists and professionals, and those who fought alongside the NLF.

■ The jails are overflowing with thousands upon thousands of "detainees."

■ People disappear and never return.

■ People are shipped to re-education centers, fed a starvation diet of stale rice, suffocated in "concrete" boxes.

■ People are used as human mine detectors, clearing live mine fields with their hands and feet.

For many, life is hell and death is prayed for.

Many victims are men, women and children who supported and fought for the causes of reunification and self-determination. Those who as pacifists, members of religious groups, or on moral and philosophical grounds opposed the authoritarian policies of Thieu and Ky: artists and intellectuals whose commitment to creative expression is anathema to the totalitarian policies of your government.

Requests by Amnesty International and others for impartial investigations of prison conditions remain unanswered. Families who inquire about husbands, wives, daughters or sons are ignored.

It was an abiding commitment to fundamental principles of human dignity, freedom and self-determination that motivated so many Americans to oppose the government of South Vietnam and our country's participation in the war. It is that same commitment that compels us to speak out against your brutal disregard of human rights. As in the 60s, we raise our voices now so that your people may live.

We appeal to you to end the imprisonment and torture—to allow an international team of neutral observers to inspect your prisons and re-education centers.

We urge you to follow the tenets of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights which, as a member of the United Nations, your country is pledged to uphold.

We urge you to reaffirm your stated commitment to the basic principles of freedom and human dignity... to establish real peace in Vietnam.

Joan Baez

5 Starvation

Millions of Vietnamese now live on a "starvation diet" because Vietnam's war-torn and weather-ravaged farmlands cannot meet the basic food needs of the population. In addition to its refusal to honor promises to provide post-war aid for agricultural recovery, our government has refused repeated appeals—from national church groups, the U.N.'s Food and Agricultural Organization, and even from a group of Senators led by Hubert Humphrey in 1977—to provide emergency food aid which could help relieve this crisis.

6 Mines

Every Vietnamese peasant is a human mine detector, but not because of the Vietnamese government's cruelty. The U.S. left a legacy of hundreds of millions of pounds of unexploded ordnance strewn across the country's rice paddies. Post-war visitors have witnessed accidental detonations, and have photographed some of the many daily victims who have lost feet, hands, and eyes when their hoes activated forgotten mines. U.N. reports indicate unexploded ordnance will be a serious hazard in Vietnam for years.

Once again, the U.S. has refused to help, reneging on earlier plans to provide shielded bulldozers which could have removed this danger without threat to life and limb.

7 Family Visits

Many accounts have appeared in the western press in the past four years, indicating that family members are allowed to visit and correspond with prison and reeducation center inmates. (See for example, *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1977.)

Southeast Asia Resource Center
PO Box 4000-D
Berkeley, CA 94704

Yes, the charges in Joan Baez's "Open Letter" are questionable and unproven. I believe that American concern for the Vietnamese people can best be expressed by a call on our own government to meet its responsibilities to Vietnam.

- ☐ I have written to President Carter.
☐ I have written to Joan Baez.
☐ To help pay for this campaign, I have enclosed my tax-deductible contribution of \$_____.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Signature _____

IN THE WORLD

NICARAGUA



Four "muchachos" pose in the middle of a Leon street after they had helped bring about the capture of the city.

Sandinista flag flies over Leon

By David Helvarg

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

THE BLACK STANDS FOR 'LUTO,' for the mourning of the people who have suffered these 47 years under Somoza. The red stands for 'Sandinista,' for the blood of the young patriots who are dying today to make of Nicaragua a free land. "That is why our Sandinista flag is black and red," explained Marcio, a guerrilla leader in Leon.

The red and black flag of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) now flies from the government palace facing on the Centro Park in Leon, Nicaragua's second largest city. With the final collapse of government resistance in Leon, massive disruption and chaos tying down thousands of government troops in the capital and a new offensive in the south, the tide has once again turned in favor of the popular guerrillas of the Frente who launched their "Final Offensive" with a series of border attacks and community uprisings just one month ago.

Photographers John Hoagland, Richard Cross and I were the only reporters in Leon during the final days of battle there. We left Managua on Friday, June 15. Already tens of thousands of refugees had been forced to flee their homes as government planes bombed and rocketed various barrios in Managua. Guardia and lightly armed Sandinista youths fighting from around barricades made of paving stone and burned out cars had closed down the South Highway as well as the airport road. Massive looting had begun with shops and warehouses being broken into by hungry mobs and General Anastasio Somoza had gone on the radio to promise a daily food ration to any citizen who cooperates with the Guardia's "operation clean-up."

On the road to Leon we encountered only one National Guard patrol. We were searched there, and again at a heavily fortified bank complex at the edge of Leon where some 15-30 guardsmen were holding out. About 200 yards further down

the road we encountered our first group of *muchachos*.

Riding on into town we spotted a "push-pull" rocket plane circling one of the nearby barrios. Suddenly it turned on its wing and dived. Two lines of smoke shot toward the ground, followed a moment later by the hollow boom of the rockets. "They never hit us," one of the young guerrillas said, "only women and children. They're punishing the people

of Leon for resisting Somoza."

Later at the San Vicente hospital, there were wards full of civilians injured by rocket fragments and machine gun fire from the DC-3 gunship that circles the town each morning, similar in appearance to the "Puff the Magic Dragons" used by the U.S. forces in Vietnam. In the children's ward I saw infants with splints and dressings no larger than the palm of my hand. A child of eight was

crying as a doctor with tweezers pulled rocket fragments out of her shaved skull.

The hospital is running short of pain killers and other supplies as the National Guard refuses to allow the Red Cross to resupply it. According to hospital director Dr. Ernesto Lopez, hundreds of civilians have been killed in the fighting over the last two weeks.

When we arrived on Friday, the Na-
Continued on page 10.

Somoza trapped in his bunker

By Victoria Schultz

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

IN THE HEART AND MINDS OF THE Nicaraguan people the country's self-elected President Anastasio Somoza Debayle looms as a malevolent figure. People fear his dictatorial powers, convinced too that he is out to kill every last one of them. The fear is mingled with hatred, expressed fearlessly in the streets. Folktales about Somoza abound.

One tells of how in the '50s some rebel officers within the National Guard, for decades the Somoza family's private army, were caught and brought to Anastasio—Tacho, as he is called. In a fit of rage Tacho cut off the tongue of one rebel who then spit a huge gob of blood at him. This drove Tacho crazy and he had to be sent to the U.S. for a cure.

According to one version, for a long time after the incident Tacho wore dark glasses because he couldn't face daylight. Another version tells that afterward he couldn't wear white shirts, but now he likes to parade in them to prove to the people there is nothing wrong with him.

Somoza almost never appears in public in his own country. He has too much to fear. His father, the first Tacho—Roosevelt said of him, "He's a son of a bitch, but he's *our* son of a bitch"—was assassinated. People say his rule, though re-

pressive and cruel, was gentle compared with the present president.

Somoza does meet the foreign press in person. As he explained recently, "I'm a politician. I'm a man open to all kinds of criticism. If I were a man who didn't understand politics, I wouldn't have you guys for a drink."

The press covering the Nicaragua insurrection had been invited to chat with him. Of tall, stately posture, he has a certain imposing presence, unwavering except when I had watched him long enough, it seems that for a split second his face would melt and decompose in response to a mild attack. I was surprised by the flaccid handshake he offered.

Somoza seemed to be enjoying the journalists' obvious hostility, which he countered by turning the argument against the person addressing him. When a French journalist asked why the radio stations in Nicaragua had been silenced, Somoza hollered about there not being press freedom in France. At one point he said, "I am the matador and you are the bulls." We saw a vulgar version of the shrewd calculating intelligence that, reportedly, in negotiations is close to unbeatable.

After the reception, the fairly drunk Somoza joined some of the journalists in the dining room of the Intercontinental Hotel and blew his cool. He thundered viciously at the press. After he had

stamped out, his security men confiscated the tapes in all the recorders around the table.

Although Somoza owns a seaside hacienda and plenty of property elsewhere, the insurrection finds him, like a trapped rat, in the famous bunker, a low windowless yellow brick building, with walls at least a foot thick.

From the bunker, as commander-in-chief of the National Guard, Somoza directs the military operations, including the random bombing of his own people.

He probably doesn't have very much time left for his vast business empire that extends from Nicaragua (there the family owns nearly one-sixth of all land) to the neighboring central American States and the U.S. The family fortune is estimated at \$4-5 million.

But the war doesn't prevent Somoza from keeping fit. Several years ago he had a massive heart attack and now holds onto life as tenaciously as to his political power. Right after the fighting broke out in the country, I saw *El Senor Presidente* emerge at 7 a.m. sharp from the bunker to do his morning routine.

"I walk and run every morning for an hour and do 20 minutes of calisthenics. In the afternoon I get a massage," he told me. Dangling from a chain around his neck is a gold safety pin, a scorpion zodiac sign and a metal with the virgin etched on it. ■

Battle for Leon

Continued from page 9.

tional Guard still retained control of the Cuartel, the main fort, and the town's main square, the *Centro Parke*. The rest of the town had been under the control of the *Frente* for the past two weeks.

At home in the barracks.

We put up at one of the decentralized FSLN commando barracks set up in different people's homes. There we met several Sandinista combat leaders, including Ariel, a short, light-haired man with thoughtful hazel eyes and a quiet demeanor.

"Before the war I was a bank teller, but last September I joined the Front," he said. "I trained myself and one other man. Later I became a squad leader and started working with the *muchachos*. I really hate war, but sometimes it's necessary to fight if you want to live in a free country, if you want to live with dignity. For 47 years now we've lived under the Somozas, under a system imposed on us by the Yankees." He held his hand up before I could say anything. "I don't mean the American people," he explained. "We want the support of the American people, but the big business interests in the U.S. have exploited us."

"I know it's a lot the same in the States," said Marcio, a big friendly giant of a man with a .38 stuck in the waistband of his jeans. At 41 he refers to himself as "the old man of the revolution." "I lived in Los Angeles for ten years and saw how you have different classes in your country. Well, it's the same here. Only in our upper class there's only room for one man—Tacho."

They both agreed that after the revolution the *Frente* would participate in a new government and, in free elections, support the program of the MPU—the Movement of Popular Unity—a 13-point program calling for the nationalization of all holdings of the Somoza family (representing some 40 percent of all economic activity),

nationalization of the banks, transportation, natural resources, land reform, socialized health care, free education for all children, protection of the rights of women and the establishment of consumer and producer cooperatives.

Over the next several days I saw Ariel, Marcio and several other leaders including Patricia (*Comandante Dos*) lead the young high-spirited guerrillas of the FSLN in a systematic attack against the last strongholds of the National Guard.

We would approach the central square through a series of holes dug through the walls of connecting houses. This system of tunnels and breaks had taken the *Frente* two weeks to construct and allowed us to move two, three and sometimes four blocks without ever exposing ourselves to fire from the street. The first time we moved out with a patrol our route led us to the back of a large movie theater opposite the Telecommunications building (Telcor) on the park. I noticed a poster in the wrecked foyer advertising a movie that never got to show there, *Heroes*.

Under heavy mortar and automatic weapons fire young *muchachos* hurled Molotovs against Telcor, while others laid down protective fire with Gerands and Belgium FALs. The *Guardia* was burned out of Telcor.

The cathedral is taken.

The next day we went on a diversionary mission, watching Ariel's group set up a firing position to distract national guardsmen in the cathedral belltower while two other squads attacked from another direction. That night the cathedral and Social Security Hospital were taken.

The following day we watched a captured *tanketa* (a four-wheeled armored vehicle with a .37 millimeter cannon) fire on the Cuartel while 60 well-armed Sandinistas moved up across the square to raise their flag. A doctor who escaped from the Social Security told of the complete breakdown of guard morale: of



Sandinistas carry their wounded away.

guardsmen shooting other guardsmen who attempted to change into civilian clothes and desert, of a guard officer shooting a National Guard doctor after an argument.

We began seeing numbers of National Guard prisoners (and saw where they were kept and how they were well treated).

Large stocks of weapons were also seized and teenagers who, two days earlier, were carrying .22s, now had M-16s and Israeli Galiel assault rifles. On Saturday night the National Guard Sherman tank was put out of action by an RPG rocket and the commanding general, Gonzales Evers, escaped from town in a helicopter.

The jail was taken but, according to the Sandinistas, the National Guard killed the political prisoners before escaping.

We were stopped at a Sandinista check point in one of the barrios that night by a *muchacho* in a "Santana" T-shirt and jean jacket. He and his friends wanted to introduce the *periodistas* (reporters)

to Senor Emillio Castella, an 87-year-old veteran of the first Sandino war. "I fought against the Yankee invasion in Nueva Segovia," he said. "I was a private in the war. I'd like to help in the fight today, but now I'm too old." He was frail and wrinkled, with deep-set eyes and a wide-brimmed straw hat. He carried an old double-barreled .410 shotgun.

"Is the war different today?" I asked him. "There were a lot less machines back then," he said. "And today they fight in the cities and the mountains; we fought only in the mountains. But still, I think it's the same; yes, it's still the same."

The following day we left for Managua. The Sandinistas were clearing out the last 15 *Guardia* from one side of the Cuartel. Every time the *Guardia* would open up with the .30, the kids would scream over the sound of fire: "*El Pueblo Unido Jamas Cera Vencido*" (The People United Will Never Be Defeated) and "*Patria o muerte*" (Country or death).

New Pathfinder Press Books

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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE U.S.

"CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE NAME OF THE GAME, BUT YOU HAVE TO KNOW THE PLAYERS TO UNDERSTAND THE GAME AND THE REALITY THAT IT REFLECTS. THIS POSTER IS THE SIMPLEST AND CLEVEREST MEANS TO HELP EXPLAIN THE CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE U.S. TODAY. A MUST FOR ANY RADICAL TEACHER..."

— Bertell Ollman, Marxist scholar and inventor of the "Class Struggle" game

The Social Stratification poster is a graphic presentation of the U.S. population by income, occupation, family status, race and wealth. Much of this information is talked about in the media and classrooms. However, the series of numbers, percentages and median figures that are cited are confusing and near impossible to relate to one another. Our purpose is to overcome this comprehension problem by combining the data into a clear graphic format.

Making this information accessible is an important political project. The concept of "America as a middle class society" is widely used and politically charged. It conveys the image of a vast clump in the middle with few at the extremes of great wealth or poverty. Overcoming this illusion and making people confront differing social conditions and status is a crucial first step toward political awareness.

But there is another need for making this information accessible — the contemporary U.S. left has operated without a developed class analysis. Phrases such as "the industrial working class", "aristocracy of labor", and "new working class" have appeared and contended with one another without a clear presentation of the facts involved. One cause for this confusion has been the isolation of the left from the real conditions and concerns of most Americans. Hopefully, this poster will stimulate both further investigation and more focused political activity.

"THERE IS A CRIPPLING LACK OF INFORMATION NOT ONLY IN THE PUBLIC AT LARGE BUT AMONG STUDENTS OF ECONOMICS WITH REGARD TO SOME OF THE BASIC FACTS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THIS ATTRACTIVE POSTER GOES A LONG WAY TOWARD REMEDYING THAT DEFICIENCY. I AM HAPPY TO RECOMMEND IT WHOLE-HEARTEDLY AS A TEACHING ADJUNCT."

— Robert Heilbroner.

The poster measures 35" x 45" and uses eight colors to represent occupation and labor force status. Different figures are used to portray husband/wife couples, single people, and single heads of household. Household figures show what each member does and are placed on the poster according to their 1978 annual income. An accompanying 40 page booklet gives the detailed methodological and statistical information.

The price is \$5.00 for the poster, and \$2.00 for the booklet; (each order should include \$1.00 for postage and handling). Bulk and institutional rates are available for classroom use, and the poster is also available as a mounted full-color transparency for overhead projectors. (The poster is very useful at the high school and introductory college levels.)

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Make checks payable to: Pathfinder Press, c/o In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622 (include \$.50 postage).

IRAN

Khomeini attacks intellectuals

By Fred Halliday

IF THE AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI'S conception of a new Iran was unclear to outside observers when he stepped off the plane at Tehran earlier this year, it is now possible to begin an evaluation of what his return will mean for Iran. The regime he installed to replace that of Premier Bakhtiar, ousted in the popular insurrection of Feb. 10-11, has now run its first four months, and amidst a clamor of dissent and mutual accusation Iranians are confronting the legacy of their victory over the Shah.

Two central problems face the government of Premier Mohdi Bazargan: the fragmentation of the state, and the near-collapse of the economy. Both result from the way in which the movement against the Shah grew, and from the rapidity with which its goals were achieved.

Although over 200 members of the ancient regime have been executed and thousands more are in jail, in exile or are dismissed, many of the 800,000 people who worked in the civil service and a considerable number of the 420,000 people in the armed forces are still in their former positions. The imperial state may have lost its head, but most of the old body is being kept intact by a government desperately trying to rebuild the country.

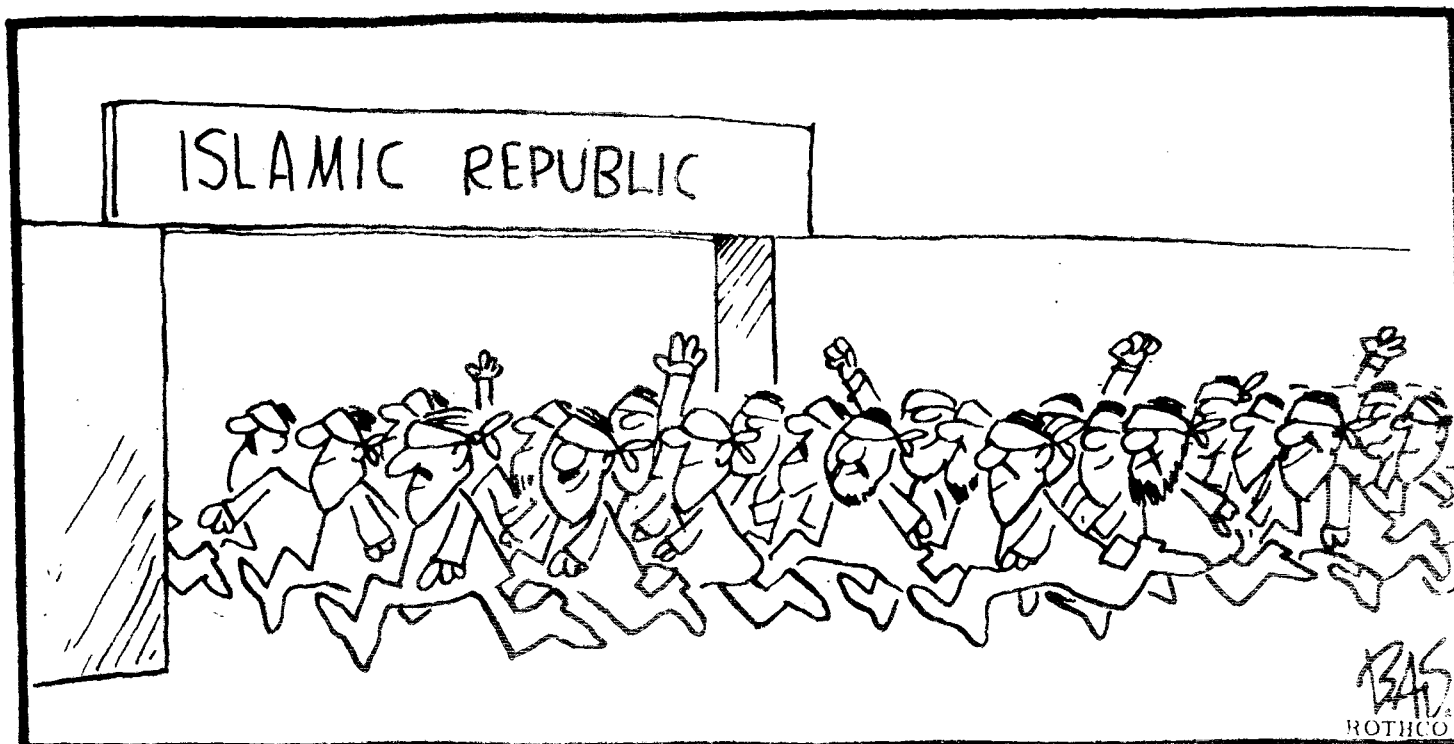
Yet the conflict between the old bureaucracy and the new ministers is acute. Bazargan's nominees are in an almost powerless position, presiding as they do over this untransformed state structure. They have not yet announced even a minimal government program and are repeating appeals to the armed forces to return to barracks and obey the orders of their new commanders.

But a much greater difficulty comes from outside the state machine, from the plethora of Islamic Committees that sprang up around the country in the last days of the Bakhtiar government. These Committees, which operate secretly and have substantial armed units attached to them, have taken control of security and local government throughout Iran. Although called "the Islam's Committees," it is doubtful if Khomeini himself exerts direct control over them. Many are run by local merchants and racketeers in league with the *akhunds*, or Muslim clergymen.

Bazargan has called Iran "the land of the hundred sheriffs," but although he has appealed to Khomeini to help discipline these Committees, he has had little success. These Committees provided the backbone for the upsurge that ousted Bakhtiar in early February and broke the capacity of the army to resist. And they now wield a power outside the state that they are reluctant to give up.

Although formed locally, they are not in any sense popular or democratic. Their clearest confrontation with the old state has come through the Islamic Revolutionary Courts they have established. Their competence now ranges far beyond the executions and imprisonment of former members of the army and SAVAK. Their secretiveness is an indication of the politics the Committees favor. The clandestine nature of their operations reflects not only the conceit of the self-appointed, but also a desire to instill fear in the minds of the population. Many Iranians suspect that former SAVAK officials have been able to infiltrate the Committees and that another reason for keeping the procedures secret is to prevent the accused from making unflattering remarks about those now on the prosecutors' bench.

Of greater concern to most of the population, however, is the parlous state of the economy. Iran's economic problems began to build before the anti-Shah movement came out in the open. The standstill in 1977 and the accompanying inflation and shortages partly account for the emergence of such wide opposition, par-



Iran's economic problems began to build before the anti-Shah movement began. But recent events have compounded the situation.

ticularly among the merchants and civil servants. But a year of upheaval prior to the February uprising, and the government's paralysis since have compounded an already difficult situation.

Oil output is said to be up to about four million barrels a day, two-thirds its previous level, but the mechanisms by which the oil revenues were distributed through the economy—never very effective—have broken down. Investment is at a standstill and most industrial plants have closed for lack of spare parts, raw materials and foreign exchange. Out of a total industrial and construction workforce of three and a half millions at least half are unemployed and many others are on part-time. House prices and rents have fallen, but prices of food have risen steeply and there is a danger of serious shortages in a country where \$3 billions worth of food have to be imported, and paid for, each year.

Some of Khomeini's advisers have talked blithely about an "Islamic economic policy" but even the more sanguine must now be wondering if the material problems of output and employment can be solved by reference to the *suras* of the Koran. The most identifiable social interest behind the organization of the revolutionary movement were the merchants of the bazaar and they hope that the new Islamic Bank will give them interest-free access to the credit they were denied under the Shah. But even their prosperity depends, in the long run, on the purchasing power of the rest of the country. If the present decline continues, interest-free loans will do little to sell their inventories.

Others have suggested that the Islamic movement against the Shah was to a considerable extent a movement against centralization, and in favor of smaller units and local autonomy. Yet in an economy so dependent on oil revenues paid directly to the state, such an economic policy is not feasible. The only practical solution to the dire problems that Iran faces lies in more effective distribution of the temporary inflow of capital that oil occasions. This militates against decentralization.

II

If the Islamic content of the new regime means anything, it means pressure towards conformity in social and political matters and an overbearing arrogance with regard to all who disagree with the

views of the leading Ayatollahs. The *akhunds* and their followers are trying to impose an iron grip on all aspects of Iranian life and are denouncing the liberal and left critics of their policies as "enemies of Islam."

Alcohol has been banned for the first time ever in Iranian history. Although the women's demonstrations of last March prevented the veil from being made compulsory, the position of women in public life has become much more difficult and the rise of unemployment has led to a pressure on women to return to their homes. The 1967 Family Protection Law, which put limits on the marriage age, has been scrapped and the ages have now been lowered from 16 to 13 for girls and from 18 to 15 for boys.

The most militant opposition to the integrationist pressure of the Islamic Republic has come from the areas where the non-Persian minorities live. Probably half of the Iranian population are not ethnic Persians. Among these groups there is a strong desire to throw off the discriminations the Shah imposed on them. In the Kurdish, Arab Turcoman and Baluchi areas there have been outbreaks of fighting, and the promises made so far by the central government of greater regional autonomy have not settled the issue.

The largest non-Persian minority are the Azerbaijani Turks in the northwest of the country: they have so far been held in check by the fact that both Bazargan and the influential religious leader Ayatollah Sharriat-Madari are Azerbaijanis. But if Bazargan falls and if no convincing solution to the nationalities issue is provided in the constitution, the Azerbaijanis will probably become more militant.

Apart from the nationalities, there has been growing dissent in the urban areas, particularly in Tehran where some of the forces who actively resisted the Shah's regime over many years now find themselves excluded by the *akhunds* and the Ayatollahs. In many of the industrial plants workers committees have sprung up and ousted the previous managers; but as most of these plants are not functioning, this has had a limited effect. Bazargan and Khomeini have more than once criticized the lack of "discipline" in the factories.

The forces of the left have shown themselves capable of mobilizing tens of thousands of people in the streets of Tehran, but they are divided and on the defen-

sive in the face of the Islamic right. The *Tudeh*, or Communist Party, supports Khomeini. Its secretary-general, Ehsanolah Kianuri, has returned from 30 years of exile to proclaim the compatibility of socialism and Islam. The most radical left group with a following, the former guerrilla group Fedayin of the People, the other main guerrilla group, the Mojahedin of the People, and the newly formed National Democratic Front have all criticized the direction of the Bazargan government and are demanding that proper democratic procedures be followed in setting up a new constitution.

At the moment there is some room for political action by these opponents of the Islamic forces, but they are being subjected to greater constraints as the weeks go by. The newspaper *Ayandegan* was forced to suspend publication for several days because it published an article Khomeini did not like—ironically, a translation of an interview Khomeini himself had given to a French newspaper. The journalists, sellers and even readers on the street were attacked.

Those distributing other, left-wing papers are frequently arrested by the Committees and many members of left-wing groups have been assaulted. In Abadan 41 members of the Fedayin were arrested and taken to Tehran before being released from prison a few weeks later. A leading Fedayin official, Sheibani, has disappeared without a trace after being arrested at Tehran Airport, while in Sifahan a prominent trades unionist, Nasser Toufiqian, was recently assassinated by members of an Islamic Committee. Opposition meetings are often broken up.

The tone in which the left is denounced leaves little doubt about the longer-run intentions of Khomeini and his associates. Attacking the "intellectuals" who criticize his programme, Khomeini recently said: "We defeated those enemies of ours who were armed with rifles. But they have replaced their rifles with pens, which they are now turning against Islam." He has stressed that even those who are "well-intentioned" and who fought the Shah are enemies of Islam if they disagree with his policies. According to the Ayatollah the word "democracy" has no place in an Islamic polity.

There are many people in Iran who feel that a political confrontation between left and right is imminent and that the Khomeini forces, increasingly alarmed at the magnitude of the problems they face, will lash out at their critics in an attempt to silence at least one source of irritation. But the deeper problem they face is their inability to provide satisfactory solutions to the real, political and material needs of a population aroused by the victorious campaign against the Shah. In this situation, it will require more than thundering speeches of one Ayatollah to quell the tide of popular expectation. ■



The World According to Gar

*“It is inefficient to throw away cities.
The health of American communities
should be the priority.”*

**Gar Alperovitz
talks with
David Moberg
about factory
shutdowns and
corporate vs.
community
economics.**

Gar Alperovitz led research on worker ownership of the Youngstown steelplant. Trained in history and political economy, in 1973 he founded (with Jeff Faux) two left think tanks: Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives and National Center for Economic Alternatives. He finds that out of the catastrophe of shutdown can come promise of democratic community planning.



How serious is the problem of shutdowns today?

There are three issues. One is the seriousness. Another is the perceived seriousness. They're intimately related. There is a third, too: the perceived forecast. To put it in extreme form: if there were a very severe dislocation but everybody knew that next year we would rebound, we would not be developing a new awareness. On the other hand, the same dislocation in a context where everyone realizes that there is no rebound likely totally alters the same statistical fact.

The broadest, most fundamental starting point is a clear assessment that the postwar boom is over. John Kennedy used to say a rising economic tide lifts all the local economic boats. More important, if people believe the future will bring a rising economic tide—continual economic expansion and growth—then they also tend to believe that you don't have to do anything new to get the boat up, that is, to help the local community. Also, no one believes there will be a return to normalcy. Therefore, you can't simply allow short-term dislocation.

So each shutdown has a more lasting impact on the community.

The issue is not just plant closings. The issue is community economic health. If you stand back and ask yourself what matters to a local citizen, the question is

the community's jobs in general. Is the economy healthy? Is the tax base growing? Can you get a job?

The conventional economic tools do not take “community” into account.

That is one of the central problems of the fourth quarter of the century. The issue is: what paradigm governs economic policy? Is it that the market reigns forever? Or does the health of American communities stand as a priority? That paradigm of the health of communities is absolutely critical in the coming period. It is morally critical.

Second, if you look at the taxpayers' balance sheet, it is inefficient to throw away cities. Somebody's got to pick up the bill. With total cost accounting of the market it might come out slightly profitable for a company to move but extremely unprofitable for the taxpayer. Third, in a context of scarce resources—land, timber, energy—throwing away cities violates a fundamental need for conservation. So the resources balance sheet has to be done on a very careful cost-benefit basis.

Is the conflict between the community economy and the market or between the community and non-market monopoly powers?

The allegation that the market rationally allocates investment may or may not be true. It wasn't true in Youngstown. Youngstown may in fact be a good place to locate a steel mill. You may get short-term signals from the market that say, “Go, build up Houston or southern California.” Then two years later unions in Houston start to organize, environmentalists start to organize, and what a firm saw as a short-term market gain was your ability to rape the environment and the labor force for a short, two-year period. So you throw away Youngstown for that short-term gain, but it's only short-term because now we're going to impose restrictions that will improve the economic



Gior Alperovitz (second from left) in press conference with Ralph Nader, William Winpisinger and Tom Hayden.

health of our community. The short-term gain is very, very costly to everyone except to the company.

What percentage of closings are rational?

When you have worker ownership, what appeared to be a market force closing the plant turns out to be managerial inefficiency. What was a red ink operation under uncoordinated and sloppy management from headquarters, becomes profitable under worker management.

If collapse of the boom is at issue, how do we deal with that?

If the issue is collapse of the boom, then the question is: can you link the provision of national needs—mass transit, rail, biomass conversion, solar—to the economic health of specific communities? You link national needs with community economic stability. The name of that is “market procurement.” If the market is collapsing—we called it stagnation in the ‘30s—then there has to be a new market. Can you link the building of that new market with the stabilization of communities? That’s why preferential procurement [by the federal government] is essential. You can’t get there simply with restrictions. It doesn’t work.

What are steps toward this new strategy?

First, experiment with worker ownership or local accountability. Second, experiment with restrictions on plant closings. Third, experiment with directed and targeted procurement, including accelerated procurement. A fourth element is building a new political alliance around community full employment.

If you start at the community level and if you’re broader than the issue of plant closings, you have the vast majority of people with you. You have labor and minorities and you also have local taxpayers and local small businessmen. In Youngstown the important political lesson is that even a conservative governor has to support you.

The neoclassical conventional economists might charge that such programs simply subsidize inefficiency.

If you did it stupidly, yes. If you did it intelligently, no. You could phase out old industries, for example, as you phase in solar. If you can hold stable the critical core of the community—say, one-third of the jobs—the rest can remain competitive in the traditional sense.

We are moving toward national economic planning—a shocker. The steel industry has a number of plans. They include target pricing, restriction on imports, capital tax reduction, loan guarantees, destruction of environmental regu-

lations and a “greenfield” strategy for planning part of the sector. [A “greenfield” steel plant is a new factory, not a gradual modernization of old facilities.] They want the taxpayer to help with part of it. If they go through with the greenfield plant at Conneaut, Ohio, and it costs \$5 billion, then the taxpayer is into it for at least \$500 million.

Take a look at transportation, medical care, agriculture, housing, steel, energy, banking. All of them are industries with significant national economic planning with certain priorities. Once the taxpayers foot part of the bill, the critical economic issue is whether the plan meets the criteria, not just of the profit of one particular firm but of the taxpayers’ benefit.

One of the questions that comes up with these preliminary strategies is whether they are heading toward socialism or preserving capitalism.

It’s interesting to see all the conservatives who are supporting legislation in this area. The honorable conservative argument about decentralization was always right: bureaucracy and centralization were always nemeses of traditional socialism. In *The Pluralist Commonwealth* I argued that decentralization of ownership was critical and linked it with the notion that cooperative ownership of capital was important.

There is a division between those who emphasize preservation of existing businesses and those who maintain that the way to deal with community economic decline is encouragement of new businesses.

Policy should move in favor of the new, efficient and growth industries, like solar. But in certain sectors—such as steel—traditional industries make sense.

To what extent do you see part of current problems as resulting from U.S. business shifting overseas?

The runaway firm is part of the problem. It clearly shows you the interest of the large corporation versus the interest of the taxpayer and local community. But it’s in a context of economic decline. If we were running a boom economy, we would not worry, because we would be replacing industries as we went. If you were to plan replacement jobs so a guy stops working Friday on textiles and Monday morning he starts working on solar collectors, we’d be very happy as a nation to import cheaper goods. The only way to do that is to plan. So planning, ironically, is the only way to get free trade, just as it is the only way to preserve the true small entrepreneur.

Why would replacement industry emerge here rather than somewhere else?

Our labor force is highly skilled. To feed people without putting them to work is very costly in the total balance sheet. If you made a rational calculation, you might still build the solar collectors here when you take into account the skill level and the total cost to society of maintaining workers.

To what extent can you have that planning for community economic health and not erect some of the “irrational” barriers that block pure free trade?

That focuses it very neatly on the public role. Currently what we’re getting is barriers. Sometimes they’re good and sometimes they’re bad and sometimes they’re on balance better than welfare for the taxpayer.

But suppose you started out and said: “This society is going to build photovoltaic cells, and we’re going to go through a development period, an infant industry period and then a mass production phase. We know something about the five-to-ten-year development path to get to high efficiencies. So what we’re going to do in this textile town is re-employ all these workers right now in photovoltaic development.”

“Since we’re giving everyone a decent job, let’s now take an honest look at the textile question.” Maybe it makes sense to buy cheap textiles. It becomes a rational decision, if you provide decent productive work for the people in question.

You can make a rational decision if you’re dealing intelligently with the needs of the people in the communities affected from the overall viewpoint of their input and taxpayer cost, both.

How much does this strategy you’re proposing involve public ownership of the means of production?

Probably decentralized, quasi-public ownership in most industries is much better than classical giant corporations on the one hand or classical giant nationalization on the other hand.

How does entrepreneurial activity fit into this model?

On two levels. First, giant corporations or giant bureaucracies are the least innovative. Second, real innovation is taking place every day on the shop floor. There are non-sexy innovations—like how’s the best way to organize the relationship between a saw and a crane in a pipe mill. You get a lot of it with worker ownership.

One problem could be that you would have competition between communities

rather than competition between firms in different markets.

One of the interesting results of the westward expansion is that now many communities are saying, “Don’t look here.” This sunbelt-snowbelt fight is highly oversimplified. You find in California very decaying areas that look like mini-Youngstowns and you find excess growth areas.

There’s a need for a strategy that bases itself on the economic health of the community even in the sunbelt. Even boom areas are beginning to recognize the need for a coherent strategy and the name of that strategy is community. That’s the ultimate value base. Plant closings are just a piece—an important piece, but just a piece.

One of the approaches in Europe involves government licensing of factories to open, close or move.

At this stage anything that establishes the health of the community is important. But I’m very skeptical about the European models for a simple reason: they are all dependent on the postwar boom. Without the boom you’re forced into a much much bolder strategy—local accountability, new firms, community-worker ownership, targeting of procurement, planning and linking national with local needs.

The elements need to be laid down in practice and experience and ideas. I do not think you can add them all up and eventually have a transformation. When an idea becomes something people demand as a moral right, then you move a different quantum jump in development. The civil rights movement did not move forward step by step and like little ants eat away at the grain house. Ultimately enough experience had developed so there was a transformation of consciousness, which then took a quantum jump: by god, this is a moral right.

I think all these economic alternative experiments are flawed. They’re preliminary restricted experiments. They’re important because they raise a vision. If you judge it in terms of the historical development process, the significance of Youngstown is staggering. I get calls all the time from Michigan, Indiana, Illinois: “I heard about those guys in Youngstown buying the factory out. Can we try it? Two years ago the idea wasn’t possible to think.”

(Next installment: Two European approaches to the problems of plant closings—in the legislature and on the shop floor.)

EDITORIAL



Begin's settlement policy: taking the road to disaster

An enduring peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors must rest on implementing a genuine Palestinian self-determination that also guarantees Israel's security and existence as a nation. The two objectives are inseparably interdependent. The alternative is recurrent war, massive devastation and the other kind of peace—the "peace" of the grave.

The Begin government's West Bank policy, in warring against Palestinian statehood, and even an attenuated "autonomy," subverts any possibility of enduring peace and places Israel's continued existence in grave jeopardy.

The Likud "Greater Israel" policy is uniting the Arab world in a just cause against Israel, isolating Sadat and undermining whatever security advantages the treaty with Egypt may have promised. It is estranging Israel's western allies as their national and imperial interests diverge from those Israel is now pursuing.

Begin's vow that he will remain an "Eretz Yisraeli"—committed to Israel's control over all of Palestine—"to the end of my days," is leading Israel to the end of *its* days, to a confrontation that can only end in Israeli national disaster. In seeking to save the biblical dream of the Promised Land, he is moving inevitably toward destroying its reality.

The settlement established near Nablus—a center of Arab population and nationalism—on confiscated Arab lands, the vigilante outrages against Arab lives, homes and property, the closing of Bir Zeit University, the complicity of the Israeli military government in assisting settlement and, in effect, condoning murder, assault and injustice, are not isolated incidents. They flow from the “Greater Israel” ideology and from the policy of the Begin government.

That policy was officially confirmed by an 8-5 Cabinet vote over the dissents of Deputy Prime Minister Yigael Yadin, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, and Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan. It is buttressed in law by the Israeli Supreme Court's decision last year that upheld the power of military government to confiscate private Arab lands for military purposes even if subsequently transferred to

civilian settlements. The policy is affirmed by Begin's Herut Party, which resolved in convention last month to extend Israeli law, justice and administration to the West Bank and Gaza even *after* the five year "transitional" period when the inhabitants are supposedly to gain autonomy as provided for in the Camp David agreements.

Not least of all, the policy is codified in the "autonomy" plan serving as the guide for the Israeli negotiating team at the current Egyptian-Israeli-U.S. talks on the West Bank and Gaza.

The "autonomy" plan is plainly annexationist. It asserts the right of Israelis to unlimited settlements in the occupied territories, and to taking their laws, civil administration and armed force with them. It would retain Israel's control over land and water resources, customs, police and prisons, and would provide for the indefinite exercise of ultimate authority by the Israeli military government. It leaves the Arabs with nothing to exercise autonomy over. As the Israeli newspaper *Davar* pointed out, the Israeli autonomy plan "contains more restrictions than the one now in operation." It is a plan that in plain words is nothing short of classic colonialism.

The Begin government's policy blatantly violates UN Resolution 242, which stipulates Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory. It is irreconcilable with Begin's commitment at Camp David to accept 242 as the basis for peace. Begin's insistence that "withdrawal" does not mean *abolishing* Israeli military government in the occupied territories is, as Prof. Claude Klein, dean of the Hebrew University Law Faculty, calls it "playing with words."

But it is part of the deadly game of extending Israeli sovereignty over all of Palestine. This, not legitimate Israeli security needs, underlies the Begin government's obdurate rejection of Palestinian self-determination, no less statehood.

As Interior Minister Dr. Yosef Burg, head of the Israeli negotiating team, candidly declared, "Autonomy does not and cannot imply [Palestinian] sovereignty." But if it does not imply that, then it implies Israeli sovereignty in whatever

guise. The Labor party's present position is only a variation on the same theme: dividing sovereignty over the West Bank between Israel and Jordan.

But it implies more. It means that Israel intends to rule over a million Arabs without their consent. It means their subjugation or displacement. They cannot be absorbed into a truly democratic system of politics without Israel losing its character as a Jewish national state, that is, without forfeiting Begin's vision of a "Greater Israel" and, ironically, accepting the PLO's vision of a "democratic

secular state." The Gush Emunim fanatics in engaging in "lawlessness and wanton pogromism"—as the respected Israeli journalist Meir Merhav calls it—are simply acting on the logic of the Greater Israel vision and policy: The Palestinians must be subjugated and uprooted.

That in turn means no peace in the Middle East. Israel must remain an armed camp, with militarism destroying its economy, as it is now doing (fueling an 88 percent inflation rate and devouring over one-fourth of its GNP), dividing its people against itself, corrupting its democratic principles and practice, and dishonoring its traditional commitments to social justice. Israel's dependence on outside aid will continue to grow and when that aid stops or falls off the deluge will come.

The enemies of Israel's existence, like the short-sighted enemies of Palestinian self-determination, can have no better ally than the Begin government in its pursuit of its present policies. No wonder Dayan calls those policies lunatic and Weizman resigned from the negotiating team.

Israelis themselves understand as well as—if not better than—anyone else the disaster being prepared for them along with the Palestinians by Begin's policies. As Merhav recently noted in the *Jerusalem Post*, "Occupation as such, the subjugation of another people, is evil. ...when occupation becomes annexation and entails expropriation of peoples' land [it compounds the evil]. But when a society becomes accustomed to depend...on the exploitation of the labor supplied by the occupied population, moral corruption already reaches deeper to the roots of that society.... We are rapidly descending, rung by rung, the ladder of evil."

World Jewish Congress vice president Joachim Prinz understands what is at stake: "I am opposed to any new settlements...because of my love for Israel.... What the Begin government is doing is not merely a threat to peace...but a very serious and dangerous threat to the very existence of Israel."

As we have said before, the real friends of Israel are those who are friends of peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors, and that means being friends of Palestinian statehood and enemies of "Greater Israel." With "friends" like those who defend Begin's policies and egg them on, Israel doesn't need "enemies." ■

Compelling need to reopen Rosenberg case

The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg case has called for the appointment of a Presidential Commission of Inquiry to re-examine the trial and execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for "stealing the secret of the atom bomb." We support the Committee's demand.

Whether or not Julius Rosenberg was involved in espionage for the Soviet Union, as Sol Stern and Ronald Radosh infer in a *New Republic* article (June 23), it seems clear that the government had no evidence of Ethel's involvement. Moreover, it had been told by Klaus Fuchs months before the Rosenbergs were indicted that Fuchs had given information much more useful to the Russians than that allegedly forwarded by Rosenberg.

It seems clear that both Ethel and Julius were falsely accused, that they were convicted and executed for political reasons, not for criminal acts.

There have been disagreements among leftists over the nature of Soviet espionage in the U.S., and over whether or not American Communists were involved in such activities. But these questions are beside the point in this case. Klaus Fuchs, a nuclear physicist who knew all there was to know about the atom bomb, confessed to giving the Russians just about

all the information he had. Julius denied passing a sketch that in any case was so crude as to be virtually worthless. Ethel was accused only of typing some notes, and the testimony implicating her appears to have been false. Fuchs was sentenced to 14 years in prison and served ten. The Rosenbergs were electrocuted.

This would be bad enough, but now it has been revealed that the FBI and the Justice Department prosecuted Ethel, knowing she was innocent, in an attempt to coerce Julius into informing about alleged espionage activities. It prosecuted Julius for passing on a "secret" that it knew the Russians already had.

It had already been known that the judge in the trial, Irving Kaufman, maintained unethical liaison with the prosecution during the trial and told the prosecution staff he planned to impose a death sentence even before the jury had delivered its verdict.

It appears that the highest U.S. law enforcement officials conspired to convict two people for crimes they could not have committed. These officials allowed both defendants to be sacrificed on the altar of Cold War politics. A thorough investigation of the case and of the government's complicity is now in order. ■

LETTERS

SHUTDOWNS

I WAS HEARTENED TO READ, IN "THE Inside Story" (ITT, May 15), of the political movement against factory shutdowns. Because, as your piece said, this problem links labor and community concerns and raises the issue of popular control of the economy, it provides an excellent occasion to advance proposals that are sensible and genuinely socialist thrusts.

I propose that we urge that a company that shuts down its operations in a community is legally required to offer the workers and the community the first opportunity to buy the plant, so that they could take it over, keep it open, and run it themselves. To provide the necessary financing and technical assistance, a public agency should be established, drawing on workers and community representatives. It would make loans from a revolving fund established by a tax on profits to employees. Such a plan could be carried out at the national, state, or municipal level.

This would make firms bear part of the economic burden they cause, some might be discouraged from relocating by the prospect of losing competing and worker-run enterprises. The spread of enterprises controlled by the employees would be enormous, and the concept of the control of jobs and investment capital by the public, rather than the financiers, would be introduced into practice.

Such a proposal would supplement and extend the UNITE proposals for notice and severance pay, and the march proposed by the steelworkers. It could also be incorporated into the kind of credible and substantive socialist electoral campaign that many are now working to bring about.

Richard S. Beth
Springfield, Mo.

WHEN THE SAINTS GO MARCHING IN

IT MIGHT BE TRUE, AS H.L. MENCKEN insisted, that wide popular acceptance of any particular attitude almost guarantees that it represents some serious error. But if the "awareness movement" is so many degrees off center, then Christopher Lasch's 160-degree dismissal of it in *The Culture of Narcissism* (ITT, May 23) is equally off in the other direction.

Passionate criticism is one thing. In *The Culture of Narcissism* there is a near-Whitmanian black and white stylization of aspects of popular culture and an urge to indict. That is quite another thing. And not at all fair.

Certain styles of concern with personal fulfillment might well be vulgarizations of the nature and meaning of fulfillment. But neither popularity nor caricature negate the authenticity of the impulse toward fulfillment. And neither do they doom the quest to futility as John India asserts in his review.

The self made culture—not for a solipsistic, masochistic existence, but for the capacity to enhance the community in which we function. Broken people ruin the order of community.

Lasch's energetic postmodernist chasing "traces of total gratification" is as much a pseudo-scientific hypothesis as the Freudian evolutionary man. For the majority of us, it is part of the larger culture, and the culture is a drum, lower-class drums, and the drum is a knee to the under the table, the sort of thing.

It is among Lasch's own intellectual currents on the left that narcissism and curators of grubstake culture to triumph over the future envisioned as something formulated, lob-

bied through, interpreted and supervised by utopians of one's own persuasion. What could be more "total" than fantasies of a redemptive proletariat marching forward to the New Jerusalem—with oneself among the communion of saints?

—Maureen Mullarkey
Brooklyn, N.Y.

AND NOW THE PSDI!

HERE WE GO AGAIN: DIANA JOHNSTONE has read the Italian Socialist-Democratic Party (PSDI) out of "the" left. At the same time as she includes the likes of PDUP (1.4 percent) NSU (0.8) and the Radicals in her 45.8. I'd bet anything that if, for some reason, the Italian version of the S.L.A. (The Red Brigade) ever decided to run some candidates, and somehow managed to get Zero point something, that would be automatically added to the total of "the" left.

Maybe the PSDI could be included in that great "Socialist Rainbow" by reason of proximity. After all, until '69 the PSI (a charity inclusion?) and the PSDI were the same guys. Both are members of the same Socialist International and might well reunite some time down the road. It happened before.

—J.W. Cusimano-Johnson
Justice, Ill.

ZIMBABWE

RICHARD L. SKLAR'S COMMENTARY on Zimbabwe (ITT, June 13) seems to be based on considerable ignorance of the current situation.

First, China is no longer the primary source of military support for ZANU. China has literally ceased aid to all liberation movements where the primary foe is not the Soviet Union. Even organizations like Eritrea's EPLF and Ethiopia's EPRP, both of whom are involved in direct conflict with Soviet-backed troops, have received no aid from the China of Hua and Teng. Therefore, to propose that if China were to stop shipping arms ZANU would accept a compromise with Muzorewa is absurd. That situation has already occurred and the guerrillas are continuing their fight at the highest level of its history.

Second, and most important, the Patriotic Front has no practical need whatsoever to negotiate a settlement. Perhaps Sklar has been believing too much of what he's read in the Western press. The reality is that the war is nearly won. Over three-quarters of the territory of Zimbabwe is now in the hands of the Patriotic Front. The sole force that can in any way reverse that is the U.S. acting in concert with South Africa.

Sklar's call for a "negotiated settlement" as a "challenge to statesmanship in Southern Africa" plays right into the hands of Carter and even Hayakawa, both of whom desperately want to ally themselves with Muzorewa without losing face with the rest of the world. American anti-imperialists should presently be agitating for recognition of the Patriotic Front as the legitimate government of Zimbabwe and putting pressure on Carter to retain economic sanctions against "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia." Certainly progressive forces in this country should not tail behind the UN and the OAU (both of which recognize the Patriotic Front) in their support for Zimbabwe's liberation forces.

Now is not the time to be holding on to idle ivory tower hopes for negotiations. The independence of the seven million citizens of Zimbabwe can only be assured by totally destroying the Smith-Muzorewa regime through armed struggle.

—John Robinson
for the Twin Cities Committee
for the Liberation of Southern Africa

ZIMBABWE II

RICHARD L. SKLAR'S PIECE ON Zimbabwe/China/Russia was the most refreshing analysis I've read in your paper in quite a while. He told me things I didn't know. And he didn't pretend to offer the solution. Knowing some of Sklar's other work, I can only hope that you will continue to ask him to write for you.

—Dick Howard
Stony Brook, N.Y.

THE KLAN AND THE SOUTH

I APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS OF TOM Gordon in exposing the conflicts between civil rights groups and the Klan in Alabama (ITT, June 6). I also appreciate the accompanying editorial that provided further insight into the conflicts and the role of the Klan in dividing workers. However, both articles, especially Gordon's, carried a tone that degraded the South.

With continuous mention of "the Klan" alongside "the South" and no mention in the historical sketch of Klan activities outside the region, Gordon's article seems to make racism and the activities of the Klan synonymous with the region. Some of the largest KKK organizations and most violent activities occurred in large cities all over the U.S. of the 1920s. In fact, it's generally agreed that the Klan was "at least as strong outside as within the South" throughout most of its history (see K.T. Jackson, *The KKK in the City*). Also, violent vigilantism is a potential characteristic of any community or area where institutional justice does not serve the real needs of people.

The false implications and misinformation about the South perpetuates a general bias against southerners that began while the region developed as an agrarian one supporting the industries of Great Britain and the northern U.S. It was necessary then, as it is now, to characterize southerners as dumb, inferior, slow, and incapable of managing their own resources to justify our exploitation. And though alliances between black and white workers occurred periodically (Southern Tenant Farmers Union, IWW, Knights of Labor), they were short-lived because of the general belief that white southerners were somehow inherently racist.

Like racism and anti-Semitism, the mythical stereotype of the Southerner is used to divide, isolate and exploit. As respected journalists with a wide readership, I expect you to be careful that when you expose one form of oppression, you do not perpetuate another.

—Dale Evans
Raleigh, N.C.

ABORTION DIALOG

My column last week related to abortion rights and the Hyde amendment, a topic that has recently received much attention in the pages of IN THESE TIMES. However, because the column is syndicated I couldn't touch on several key questions raised in this debate. I do so briefly in this letter.

Should ITT have printed the Moore/Mulhauser debate and the ensuing responses? The issues raised by this question are weighty ones and I am by no means interested in having the final word on them. However, let me share my reflections on the articles in question.

First, I do not believe the issue can be posed solely as a "civil liberties" one. No publication prints everything submitted to it. We all have certain aesthetic, political and ethical standards that guide our judgment about what to print. I could list some outrageous examples of morally, sexually or politically obscene material that might turn up in any editor's mailbox. Does a commitment to civil liberties require that it all go out on next week's front page?

Second, while I respect ITT's attempt to speak to the many well-intentioned people who are opposed to abortion (something far too few publications on the left have done), I don't think it's necessary to print the anti's arguments in order to respond to them. Those arguments have already been widely disseminated throughout the society.

ITT makes clear that it is a publication with a point of view. Few people reading it would expect it to print articles defending profit making. And the editors don't seem to feel that it's necessary to do so in order to reach people with their arguments against the profit motive.

Third, while I don't know that I would make any eternal rules about what is beyond the pale of debate in our publications, I do know that we have to be very careful about what we throw up for grabs—and when we do it, it seems to me that we should try to hone as close as possible to a fundamental commitment to human freedom and to be very judicious about "debating" such freedoms. Personally, I believe that a woman's right to control her own body without the coercion of the state is one such freedom.

There may be some fine lines to be drawn here, but then the whole thing would be simple if there weren't. For instance, I think it would be acceptable to debate the ethics of abortion in a socialist publication—as long as the legality was not put into question, that is as long as the right of each woman to make her own choice were respected.

To give another example, I think it would be legitimate (and even necessary) to debate the efficacy of busing in achieving educational equality for blacks, but I do not believe it would be acceptable for a socialist publication to print a debate about whether blacks are entitled to equal education.

Fourth, there is the question of the specific pieces involved. The Moore article was one of the more dishonest pieces of journalism I've seen in a long time and I don't think ITT should have printed it on those grounds alone. Moore tries to make it sound as though everyone who is in favor of abortion rights has been opposed to economic rights for the poor. In fact, every survey that has been done indicates exactly the opposite. It is the anti's who have consistently opposed or sidestepped measures that would aid low-income women. If there's going to be a debate, at least let's have it deal with the real issues.

Finally, and this is not a matter of what ITT should print, but of my own gut-level feelings on this subject: I can respect people who oppose abortion out of deep moral conviction; and I can even understand people who feel that criminalizing abortion is consistent with humanistic values (though I disagree with them strongly); but it is simply beyond my ken how anyone who calls themselves a socialist—or anything close to it—can seek to justify a law that institutionalizes one set of standards for the majority of Americans and another for the economically deprived.

—Roberta Lynch
Chicago

WHO'S GONNA DO IT?

DR. ANDREW J. WINNICK'S ARTICLE in the June 6 issue, "The Time Has Come for Socialized Energy," begs the question—as usual in this type of article. The time has indeed come for socialized energy but to call for this government to do it—the very government whose very existence is devoted to the preservation of private property under the capitalist system—indicates that either Dr. Winnick doesn't understand the world as it lives in, or he's not serious, which surely isn't the case. The nationalization of resources and means of production under a capitalist government might be called a form of socialism—a form of National Socialism. Haven't we heard that one before?

—Joanne Forman
Iaas NM

IN DEPTH

Defending the right to abortion is a top priority for the left

By Mary P. Ryan, Judy Stacey and Kay Trimmerger

IN RECENT MONTHS THESE PAGES HAVE BEEN RIDDLED with controversy about abortion. IN THESE TIMES' editorial policy and many readers' letters suggest that the left's support for women's right to free, safe, unstigmatized abortion is at best equivocal. ¶The surfacing of this ambivalence, at a time when abortion rights are under seige, causes widespread alarm among feminists. In our own Bay Area community of socialist-feminists it has generated responses ranging from disappointment to anger. ¶To avert a breach between socialists and feminists it is time to speak plainly about the causes of the left's failure strongly to endorse abortion rights. First, however, let us underscore key reasons why the left should make women's reproductive freedom a political priority.

Right-wing offensive.

First and most narrowly, the left's equivocation on abortion plays into the hands of a dangerous and sophisticated right-wing movement. As *ITT* itself has reported, the National Right to Life Committee (whose organizer Elizabeth Moore was given such prominent space in these pages) selectively targets liberal legislators for political defeat and backs conservative ones. Of the senators the NRLC endorsed in 1974, 71 percent supported capital punishment, 72 percent approved funding to continue the war in Vietnam, and 71 percent opposed gun control.

The majority of the members of Congress who voted against abortion in 1978 also scored abysmally low on support for key human welfare issues.

The right-to-life movement has links to organizations and individuals with broad and established reactionary objectives—not just the anti-abortion factions within the Catholic, Mormon and fundamentalist churches, but also the American Conservative Union, the Liberty Lobby, Young Americans for Freedom, the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan. It is clear that the well organized attack on abortion rights is but one strategic facet of a comprehensive anti-socialist movement.

Second, the anti-abortion movement stands in the forefront of a backlash against the feminist gains of the last decade. As part of its broad-based strategy to recriminalize abortion, the NRLC has spearheaded an alarmingly successful drive to eliminate public and private sources of abortion funding. It takes an official stand against publicly financed childcare and contraception, sex education in the schools and the Equal Rights Amendment. Its national spokespersons pander to sexual anxieties by expressing open bigotry towards lesbians and gay men.

The anti-abortion movement is the most militant flank of a rearguard action against feminist and gay challenges to the institutions of heterosexuality and male-dominated nuclear families. Leftists who equivocate on abortion risk another fateful rupture with feminists and undercut the development of socialist-feminist leadership in the pro-abortion movement.

Third, the left's tenuous commitment to the pro-abortion movement is symptomatic of a deeper flaw—its inadequate grasp of issues crucial to the growth of a popular movement in the '80s.

The women's movement broke theoretical and programmatic ground for the American left in the '60s and early '70s when it called attention to the political significance of personal life. Amid increasing crises in family life and inter-

personal relations, the politics of personal life speak to an ever-widening and more desperate audience. But it is now the right which is taking the offensive in translating personal troubles into public issues.

The assault on abortion is part of an ingenious strategy that exploits anxiety about sexuality and family life for larger conservative purposes. Only through a critical feminist approach to personal politics can socialists recapture this vital political territory.

Fourth and finally, we must remember the human stakes of the abortion debate. In the 32 states that have adopted the restrictions on abortion funding designated by the Hyde Amendment there has been a 97 percent drop in publicly financed abortions, resulting not only in the birth of unwanted children, but in a return to dangerous illegal abortions.

The Federal Center for Disease Control estimates that the loss of Medicaid will mean that about 90 women will die annually from illegal and self-induced abortions and another 25,000 will suffer serious medical complications. In sum, the mutilation of women's bodies and further immiseration of the families of the poor weigh in the balance of the abortion debate.

Left lethargy.

Why then has left support for the feminist reproductive rights movement been so tepid? The general weakness of the socialist offensive in the late '70s is only a partial explanation. A deeper set of moral, personal and political difficulties lies beneath this socialist lethargy.

To begin with, abortion confronts many socialists with an apparent moral dilemma. We, the opponents of an immoral war and defenders of the men, women and children of Indochina, now find ourselves charged with being accomplices to the murder of the innocent unborn. Many socialists feel uncomfortable and disingenuous marshaling rational arguments about threats to the lives of those already born to refute this moral indictment.

But socialists can never be moral absolutists. We must always steer a delicate course between an historical conception of morality and one that is hopelessly relativistic. For example, although few socialists today would cheer the widespread practice of infanticide in the past, we can understand the desperate economic and social circumstances that led many women and men to resort to such drastic means of "birth control."

In our historical period, abortion is a necessary precondition for sexual equality. Neither socialists, philosophers, nor theologians can determine the moment in the reproductive process when human life becomes sacred and inviolate. Is it when an ova is released? When sperm is ejaculated? When ova and sperm unite? When a fertilized egg implants in the uterus? When a fetus attains viability? When an infant is delivered?

An ardent pacifist would be hard-pressed to achieve absolute moral consistency on such questions. Socialists need not try. Our prime commitment is to create a just social order in the terrestrial world we inhabit. In these times, a socialist-feminist morality demands a staunch defense of abortion rights.

Just as troublesome as these moral quandaries are the personal and emotional conflicts abortion calls forth among both men and women on the left. Socialists have by no means escaped the current turmoil afflicting family life, sexuality and intimacy.

It can be as traumatic for a socialist as for any other woman to "choose" abortion because, as a poorly paid female worker, she cannot afford to bring a child into the world. It can be more painful still to choose abortion because she does not have loving relationships with people who are committed to sharing with her the responsibilities of childrearing. Thus for increasing numbers of women abortion is only the least awful of lousy choices: understandably, their enthusiasm for abortion rights flags.

Men on the left harbor their own set of conflicts about abortion. Some of them no doubt share with women a despair of creating a humane environment for parenting children. Others seem to regard abortion as a means to escape from the responsibilities of parenting or making commitments to women. The response of such men to the politics of abortion is likely tinged with guilt and defensiveness, and consequently lukewarm or evasive.

Still other men, including leftists, see abortion as the menacing symbol of independent, sexually assertive, and non-maternal women. In fact, until there is fail-safe contraception, easy abortion is a precondition for heterosexual women to pursue active, uninhibited sex lives.

Men who are uncomfortable with the changes in sexual and family relationships sought by contemporary feminists, may be reluctant to see women freed from the fear of unchosen maternity. Contradictory and often unconscious feelings like these probably underlie the hesitant response of left men to the abortion rights movement.

Finally, left enthusiasm for abortion rights is dampened by a suspicion of the largely liberal and establishment constituency for the movement. Historically, the struggle for women's reproductive rights was compromised by alliances with eugenicists and Malthusians. Today, abortion advocates sometimes accept comparable support from a population control establishment eager to avert the

economic costs of unchecked pregnancy among teenagers, minorities and the poor. The fact that many abortion advocates exploit the racist and technocratic logic of population reinforces anti-abortion sentiment among socialists.

Genuine choice.

But political contradictions like these cannot relieve socialists of the responsibility to devise their own population policy. Prohibiting abortion is itself a pernicious form of population control. The Soviet Union repealed legal abortion in 1936 in an unsuccessful effort to force women to remedy the country's war-induced demographic crisis. (It was restored in 1955.) Similarly, U.S. courts are now justifying the funding cut-offs that deny abortion rights to poor women on the grounds that the state has a right to make a "policy choice" in favor of childbirth over abortion.

Only when the abortion demand is placed in the context of a struggle to secure full reproductive freedom can it be freed from the taint of anti-socialist and anti-women population control. This is why a strong socialist presence in the pro-abortion movement is so crucial.

Socialist-feminists are leading a broad struggle to make genuine choices about child-rearing available to everyone. The struggle links a fight to expand contraception and abortion services with opposition to involuntary sterilization. It demands public services and social-economic reforms to make parenting possible for all those whose present material and personal circumstances make a mockery of the notion of reproductive "choice."

Moreover, socialist-feminists retain a vision of alternatives to the conventional nuclear family, the heterosexual couple, and the institution of motherhood, as we explore new and more sexually egalitarian modes of reproduction.

Because abortion rights are currently under such violent attack, this issue is the cutting edge of the movement for reproductive freedom. The politics of reproduction, in turn, addresses some of the deepest concerns of the American people. Defending and expanding abortion rights, then, should be a priority for the left. More than this, it is time for all socialists to join the feminist offensive on issues of reproduction, personal life, and equality of the sexes.

Mary P. Ryan is an historian; Judy Stacey and Kay Trimmerger are sociologists. They all teach, research and write on feminist and socialist issues. Ryan and Stacey are editors of the journal *Feminist Studies*.

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PERSPECTIVES

"Con-Con": a rightist con or a left opportunity?

By Bertram M. Gross

A TRUE DILEMMA HAUNTS THE MINDS OF MANY PROGRESSIVES in America: what position to take on the drive for a constitutional convention to formulate a budget-balancing amendment to the constitution? **A new constitutional convention could extend popular democracy.** Such a convention, in the words of John Judis, "could offer labor, minority organizations and feminists the chance they need to present their case to the American people. Right-wingers who oppose the convention do so for this reason." For this reason also, the right-

wing organizers of the present "con-con" drive want the agenda of any convention limited to budget-balancing alone.

But the con-con drive itself is spearheaded by a powerful network of right-wing property interests that command majorities in most state legislatures. Their basic orientation—as with California's Proposition 13 and the new "Son of 13" aimed at limiting state expenditures—i toward providing windfall tax cuts for property owners and cutting social welfare expenditures for the lower and middle classes as a whole, and particularly for blacks and Hispanics. They have little interest—and no track record—in trying to balance the national budget by cutting military spending or supplanting welfare spending by useful jobs at fair wages.

Thus far, most progressives have blasted the idea of a constitutional convention as a reactionary ploy (which it certainly has been) to exploit popular resentments against inflation, or they have brushed the idea aside as an impossibility not to be taken seriously. The first reaction does not suggest a strategy for exposing or defeating the con job. The second ignores that 30 state legislatures have already applied to Congress for a constitutional convention. Only four more state resolutions are needed.

Past Con-Cons.

Strangely enough, throughout all this hubbub there has as yet been little attention to how a Con-Con would actually operate.

If we look back on the original convention of 1787-89, we can now see that the white gentlemen who used the words "We the People" were slave-owners, land speculators, business men, and lawyers. The Bill of Rights was not the product of the original convention itself. It took a civil war before the Constitution was liberalized enough to free the slaves, and many more amendments and decades to provide for the direct election of senators, female suffrage, partial representation for the District of Columbia, abolition of poll taxes, and reduction of the voting age to 18.

Since then, there have been scores of constitutional conventions at the state level. Generally, they have been packed by conservative state legislators, their associates, fund raisers, and lobbyists. This was the kind of selection process set in motion back in 1969 when 33 out of the necessary 34 state legislatures had petitioned Congress for a Con-Con to reverse the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" ruling.

Today, in contrast to 1969, there is much greater sophistication in the operations of corporate pressure groups, local "taxpayer" organizations and the right-wing forces in state legislatures. If and when the magic number of 34 is reached and a constitutional convention is suddenly summoned into being, they might go very far toward dominating both the selection of conventional delegates and the entire convention agenda. Such domination would be aided by pen-

ing legislation to establish procedures for selecting a constitutional convention, as outlined by a committee of the American Bar Association and sponsored in Congress by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL). A new constitutional convention could easily be the furthest thing in the world from a people's convention. Although all of its proposals would have to go back to state legislatures for formal ratification by 38 states, the convention itself would represent a crystallization of right-wing power in the state legislatures capable of quickly rounding up the necessary ratifications.

Getting the people there.

To prevent any such development, progressive forces in America need a two-pronged program for a democratically-selected convention and a constructive set of constitutional amendments.

How to provide for a truly representative rather than a packed convention? The only good thing to be said for the pending right-wing legislation is that it provides for one vote by each convention delegate, in place of the 1787-89 principle of one vote for each state. A truly progressive proposal would also provide for the election of all or most convention delegates on an at-large basis in each state, rather than through the use of largely gerrymandered single-member districts. This would bring an important degree of proportional representation into the selection process.

Also, the number of delegates from each state should be based squarely on state population in accord with the Supreme Court one-person, one-vote ruling, rather than in accord with representation in the electoral college, which allows two extra delegates to the smaller states. To further open up the nomination and election process, delegates should also be prohibited from "moonlighting" at the same time as members of the House, Senate or state legislatures. Convention delegates should be expected to accept convention deliberations as a full-time responsibility for whatever period may be required and should be compensated accordingly.

As for the election process itself, there should be a separate, nationwide election day, free TV and radio time for candidates and small federal contributions toward other campaign activities.

A progressive agenda of constitutional amendments is almost as important. In the narrow field of fiscal policy, the radical right and the self-styled moderates have already presented at least ten varieties of budget-balancing amendments. This provides the conservative drive with considerable flexibility. At the proper time—either through a convention or in the form of a Congress-initiated amendment—they can quickly consolidate forces behind the one most likely to be ratified.

Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy in California has responded with the following alternative version of a constitutional amendment: "The President shall submit to Congress an-

nually a full-employment, balanced budget." An improved version might read as follows: "The President shall submit to the Congress an annual full employment plan and balanced budget designed to guarantee the right of every adult American able and willing to useful employment at fair rates of compensation." It might also be helpful to discuss amendments that put one or another kind of ceiling on military spending, the major force in promoting both budgetary deficits and inflation.

Bill of Rights.

But the right-wing drive for constitutional amendments is not limited to fiscal policy. If a constitutional convention, as a sovereign body, should consider any kind of amendment (and at this date nobody can tell whether a convention agenda would or would not be wide open), the arsenal of right-wing ammunition is already well stacked. In a Feb. 19 column, Patrick Buchanan has pulled these together into a Bill of Radical Right Rights that would, among other things, limit the budget to 20 percent of the gross national product; limit federal taxes on a citizen's total income to 30 percent; authorize capital punishment; forbid affirmative action programs in public or private employment and the use of racial or ethnic criteria in the assignment of children to public schools; restore religious prayers to public schools; make abortion a federal crime; and deny voting rights to citizens who pay less than \$300 in federal income taxes.

Without diverting too much attention from important struggles, I think it worthwhile to formulate a truly progressive set of constitutional amendments. Two proposals of this type are already before the state legislatures: the Equal Rights Amendment, and the amendment to give the District of Columbia voting representation in Congress. Other amendments might present the substance of Franklin D. Roosevelt's entire 1944 Bill of Economic Rights:

- The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation,
- The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation,
- The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living,
- The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad,
- The right of every family to a decent home,
- The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health,
- The right to enjoy adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment, and
- The right to a good education.

Equally important would be a set of civil liberties amendments going far beyond present constitutional interpretations of personal rights to privacy, citizens' rights to know as against governmental and corporate secrecy, and citizens' rights to communicate through gen-

uine access to the major means of communication. The latter point might require strengthening the First Amendment by prohibiting network and press monopolies (not merely Congress) from "abridging the freedom of speech or the press."

This approach might require granting to the federal government the exclusive power of chartering corporations, long advocated by Ralph Nader and others as a means of forcing corporate accountability and disclosure.

It might be desirable to formulate an amendment providing that no corporation should be regarded as a person under the due process clause of the 14th amendment—a view expressed in historic dissents by Justice Hugo Black (Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. vs. Johnson, 1938) and Justice William O. Douglas (Bell et al. vs. Maryland, 1964). This would limit human rights to real people, as contrasted with the Supreme Court's present fiction that corporations are persons under the constitution.

Such an amendment would create panic in many corporate board rooms; for it would dramatize the fact that when some people speak bravely in defense of "human rights" they include the rights of American corporations to get away with exploitative profits or, literally, murder.

Finally, attention is needed to democratizing the electoral system by providing for government responsibility in registering all citizens eligible to vote, prohibiting the gerrymandering of congressional districts and applying the Supreme Court's "one person, one vote" doctrine not only to state senates but also to the U.S. Senate.

Many of the ideas embodied in a progressive program for constitutional change can serve as rallying points for popular organizations and for mass action outside the formal channels of so-called "representative" government.

More specifically, those who believe that current campaigns should be linked with advocacy of democratic socialism have an obligation, I suggest, to differentiate between capitalist and socialist constitutionalism. It is particularly important to set forth the general constitutional considerations that, under democratic socialism, would protect the individual and communal rights of people against the possible tyranny of centralized political or bureaucratic power. Otherwise, hope of attaining intellectual hegemony for socialist ideas is a daydream.

There is a close relationship between efforts for a democratically elected convention and truly democratic constitutional amendments. While action along these lines might not command much general attention at the outset, it would probably go very far toward helping divide the right-wing forces now plunging headlong ahead toward a convention. For those now using "populist" slogans to disguise reactionary drives, it would raise the specter of a convention that the right could not control. This would by itself help derail the con-con steamroller. ■

Bertram M. Gross, Distinguished Professor of Public Policy at Hunter College, is the author of the forthcoming book, Friendly Fascism, which explores present trends toward a corporate state and countertrends opposing it.

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EUROCOMMUNISM AND THE USSR

Critical analysis replaces dogma



Manuel Azcarate

In a sense, Eurocommunism is part of an unravelling initiated by the Soviets themselves. But Eurocommunists are taking the process to extremes Moscow could not consider.

Louis Menashe's two-part series on Eurocommunism and the USSR is excerpted from a chapter in the forthcoming *THE POLITICS OF EUROCOMMUNISM: SOCIALISM IN TRANSITION*, edited by Carl Boggs and David Plotke. The book is scheduled for publication this summer.

By Louis Menashe

I. Novelities.

The language of contemporary politics provides good clues about the fate of the Communist movement. The terms "communism" and "socialism" no longer make sense unless they are qualified. Czech Communists under Dubcek spoke of socialism with a human face. The Sino-Soviet split accented Maoism. Maoist groupings, pulling away from the old Communist parties, put Marxist-Leninist after their names. Earlier, it was Titoism. Earlier still, Trotskyism. Now we have Eurocommunism.

The need for qualifiers is a consequence of the historic identification of socialism and communism with the USSR. Behind the splits and new alignments is one major motif: a critical attitude towards the USSR and the quality of its socialism. But regular criticism from fraternal parties in Europe with long and solid credentials of reverential friendship with the USSR—not to speak of many years of silent obedience to Moscow's baton—is strange to Soviet leaders. This is disorienting. And the issues are so varied and complex, and the political consequences so great, that Soviet leaders cannot afford snap judgments.

Before examining the Eurocommunist critique and the Soviet response, some brief observations about earlier breaks from Moscow are in order.

The first major split in the Communist movement occurred in the 1920s. Originally, "Trotskyism" was an invention of the post-Lenin Soviet leadership of Stalin, Kamenev, and Zinoviev designed to stigmatize opposition currents led by Trotsky and others. By the end of the 1920s, such themes as inner-party democracy, quickening the tempo of industrialization, combatting bureaucracy, and denying the feasibility of Stalin's idea of "socialism in one country" came to be accepted as "Trotskyism" by Trotsky and his followers.

With Trotsky's expulsion from the USSR, the ground was set for a worldwide schism. Trotsky in exile assumed leadership over an anti-Stalinist movement based on a core of factions expelled from the Communist parties that remained loyal to Moscow. The formation of the Fourth or Trotskyist International in 1938 gave final form to a break that was not yet healed.

The Titoist rupture belongs to the World War II epoch, when socialist states or peoples' democracies rose out of the rubble of a vanquished fascism across Eastern Europe and the Balkan peninsula. These states naturally had their own inclinations, but the needs of Soviet power imposed uniformities on them and made them entirely subordinate to Moscow. Tito's break with Moscow (or his excommunication) was not over philosophical differences, but over sovereignty. Friction between Stalin and Tito developed around the character of Soviet-Yugoslav economic activity and relations among the Balkan countries. Although the Yugoslavs went on to develop internal structures different from the Soviets' (greater use of the market, workers' committees, a relative tolerance of dissent), they have never stood for a socialist vision or a politics broad enough to appeal to the workers' movement as a whole. Once Yugoslav national sovereignty and the independence of its ruling party vis-a-vis the Soviet party was granted, the barriers between Moscow and Belgrade came down. The post-Stalin leadership under Khrushchev welcomed Tito back into

the communist fold and even tolerated his "neutrality" in the waning years of the Cold War.

The basic cause of conflict in the Sino-Soviet rupture is also over national sovereignties, including the humiliations to which the Soviets subjected the Chinese at state-to-state and party-to-party encounters after Mao's victory in 1949. But once the global appeal of the Chinese and Maoism seemed to present a new and coherent socialist practice with a vitality not to be found in the Soviet Union, the differences took on new meaning. The Chinese spearheaded the modern critique of the USSR along a broad front of issues. In Chinese eyes, the USSR has become a counter-revolutionary, hegemonic great power with imperial ambitions, where the state is in the grip of a new capitalist ruling class sometimes likened to fascists or "new tsars."

All of these schismatic currents are outside Moscow's direct control or influence. But they also have remained marginal to the workers' movements of the West. They have posed no serious challenges to the established Communist (or Socialist) parties.

These three great schisms did not transform mainstream Communism in Western Europe, although they did help erode entrenched Communist attitudes in the 1960s. But the ground was also partially cleared for these influences by Khrushchev's own de-Stalinization campaign, and especially by his secret address to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, outlining the crimes of the Stalin era. The impact of Khrushchev's de-Stalinization inside the Communist left was enormous. A leading Eurocommunist, Santiago Carrillo, recalls, for example, how his party and others "followed like a flock of sheep" when the Comintern ordered them to condemn Tito in 1948. When Khrushchev went on to "dismantle the whole edifice," writes Carrillo, "we felt that we had been so cruelly deceived and so vilely manipulated that this completed the demolition of what remained of the mystical and almost religious element in our attitude towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

In a sense, then, Eurocommunism is part of an unravelling initiated by the Soviets themselves. But Eurocommunists are taking the process further, to extremes Moscow could not consider. It is one thing to begin unravelling Stalin's mystique, but quite another to question the historical and political legitimacy of the statum governing in the name of socialism and the working class. For the Eurocommunists, this further unwinding seems a vital practical necessity in defining themselves and their politics anew. And this time, unlike 1956, they have come to the project themselves, in opposition to Moscow.

Eurocommunist leaders are emphasizing parliamentary politics, and peaceful, democratic roads to socialism. They are dissatisfied with the ideal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are questioning the single-party-state model. They are redefining proletarian internationalism. They are chipping away at the dogmas of Marxism-Leninism.

By contrast, Moscow, Peking, and the Trotskyists all claim to be guardians of these orthodoxies; their primary point of reference is the Bolshevik Revolution. The Soviet party sees itself as the supervisor of a tradition that has been unbroken from 1917 to the present. Maoists and Trotskyists seek to restore the orthodoxy they claim was subverted by the Soviet party. The Trotskyists date the subversion to the period of Lenin's death when the foundations for Stalin's tyranny were established. The Maoists honor Stalin and trace the subversion to the period following his death.

But far from seeking the continuity or restoration of this orthodox tradition, with its special codes, myths, language, and mechanisms, the Eurocommunist leaders are cautiously exploring a wholly

different way of looking at themselves in relation to the Bolshevik Revolution and its aftermath. Implicit here is the recognition (at long last) that their own societies and possibilities unfold as a separate and unique history that is not derivative from Russia in the epoch of 1917.

Many see the popular fronts of the mid-'30s as well as political developments after World War II as "precedents" for Eurocommunism. But these experiments still operated within the tradition of Bolshevik orthodoxy. They were tactical shifts to accommodate the threat of fascism, the Franco rebellion against the Spanish republic, the economic and social reconstruction of post-war Europe. The Communist parties participating in these programs never altered the dogmas by which they lived. Their organizational forms still came from the Soviet party, their revolutionary model still derived from Petrograd, 1917, and they still equated socialism with what existed in the USSR. And they still saw the Communist movement as a united phalanx headed by Moscow.

Given this disposition, it was easy enough for Moscow to insinuate its state interests into the Communist movement. As Togliatti told the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935: "For us...there is complete identity of aim between the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the policy of the working class and the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries.... We not only defend the Soviet Union in general, we defend concretely its whole policy and each of its acts."

Two decades later, under the influence of de-Stalinization, the same Togliatti was to proclaim the conception of "polycentrism" (independent and equal national centers) for the Communist movement. The Sino-Soviet split accelerated the process by which the parties travelled their own national roads.

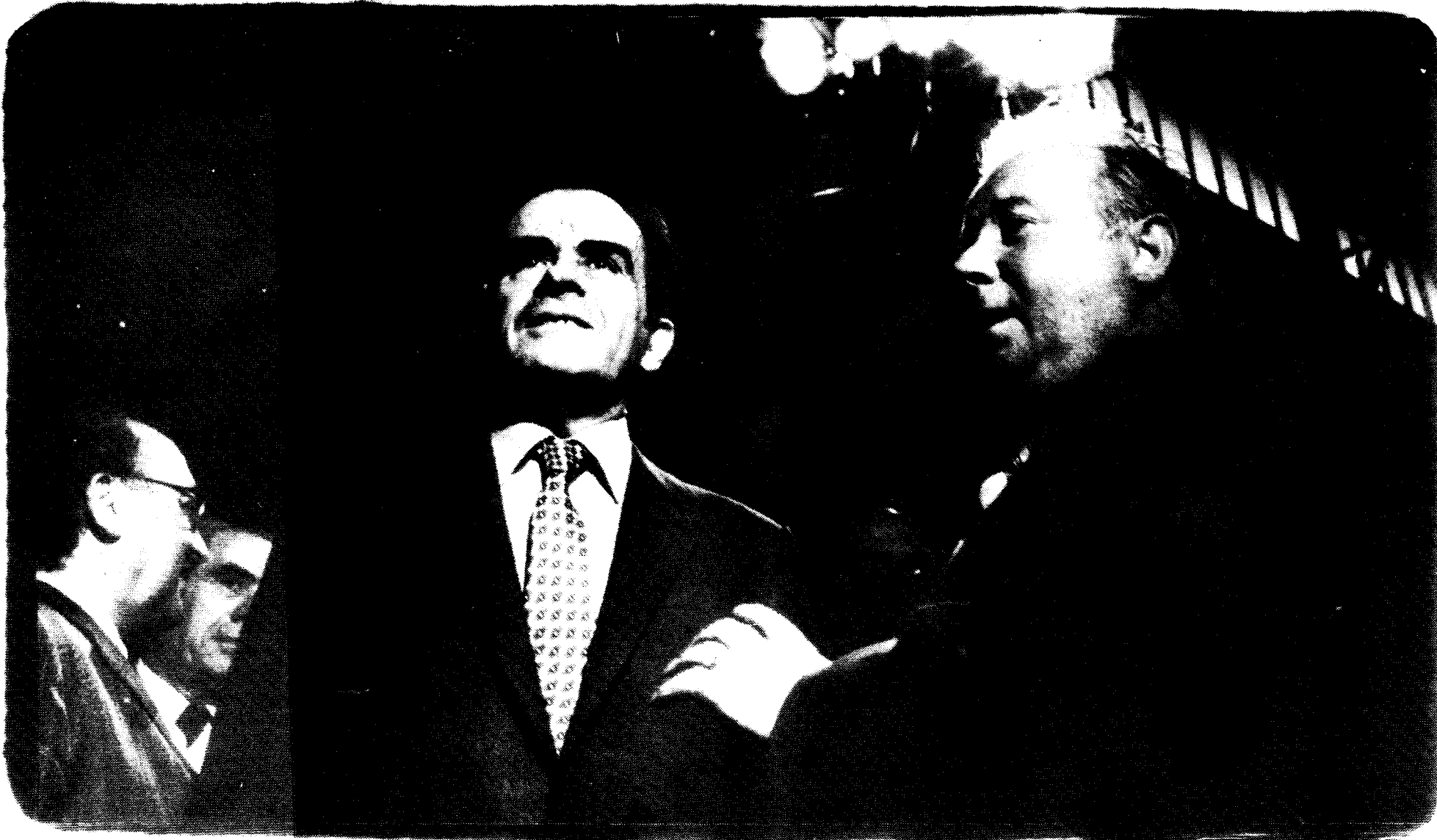
But real changes inside the organization—as distinguished from externally imposed turns—could come only when new cadres reflecting a younger mass constituency no longer entirely mesmerized by the USSR and the mirage of Soviet socialism came into leadership positions. By the 1970s the changes started coming in a rush.

Eurocommunism in the 1970s is the deepest symptom of the Soviet party's decline as acknowledged boss of the communist movement. More significant and less acceptable to the Soviet party, though, is the decay of the Soviet myth and the possible rupturing of the Bolshevik tradition in the West that Eurocommunism represents.

II. Eurocommunism and "The Soviet Question."

Subject matters once considered taboo are now taken up in the communist press. The genie of doubt is out of the bottle. Critical analysis is beginning to replace dogma as Eurocommunists condemn human rights violations in the USSR and even dare to suggest that perhaps, after all, the USSR is not socialist. They are writing shibboleths and ritualistic incantations derived from Soviet customs out of their party programs, and are re-aligning socialism with democracy.

Every subject—theoretical, historical, organizational—seems to contain a seed of controversy and an implied or overt rebuke for the USSR. In the 23 years since Khrushchev's secret speech there has been plenty for Communists to feel uncomfortable about—the Hungarian invasion, the handling of the Chinese issue, the manner of Khrushchev's dismissal, the halt to de-Stalinization, the Czech invasion, political oppression in general, the crackdown on the dissidents in particular. Many of the European parties have voiced concern over these matters. Sometimes, as in reaction to the crushing of the Czech experiment, enough heat was generated to produce resignations and expulsions. Since the mid-'70s, however, Eurocommunist



George Marchais, Secretary-General of the French Communist Party (left) and George Seguy, CGT union leader (right) under the lights.

discomfort and criticisms have entered a new phase.

As long as the Western parties accepted what their enemies charged, that the USSR was the model for their socialism, they could never appeal to massive sections of the Western public. Giorgio Napolitano of the Italian Communist Party explained:

"Our choice of total solidarity with the socialist world... gave rise to the suspicion that [we stood for] the type of socialist society and administration of power existing in the Soviet Union.... For a long time, this suspicion was costly."

For years Communists wanted to believe or forced themselves to accept Moscow's official view of a harmonious peasants' and workers' socialist democracy. If they weren't simply denying that Gulag existed or that workers and peasants didn't exercise political power, they contrived contorted apologetics to explain "shortcomings." (Capitalist encirclement, the need for vigilance, the need for rapid economic modernization at the "temporary" expense of full democracy.)

But Western communism can no longer thrive on the self-deceptions and evasions of the past. The new movement must make clear its adherence to freedoms as commonly understood in the West. And stating the obvious and elementary—the connection between socialism and democracy—implies criticism of the Soviet system. Eurocommunists now tell this directly to the Russians, as did Enrico Berlinguer recently at celebrations of the 60th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in Moscow. "The experience we have gained has led us to the conclusion," Berlinguer said, "that democracy today is not only the ground on which the [ruling class] is compelled to retreat, but also represents an historically universal value on which distinctively socialist society is based."

The Belgian party stated the case against the USSR more directly in a report to its Central Committee, January, 1978: "To put an opponent of the regime in a mental hospital is not a limitation of democracy, it is an unforgivable act."

Asserting such simple truths in itself virtually dissipates the smokescreen of mystifications, such as Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that Soviet socialism hides behind. And without the language of mystification—such language is the lifeblood of sectarianism—socialism might become a vital public issue. The Eurocommunists are beginning to speak in secular tongues and to reach wider audiences through television, the pages of the non-communist and popular press, and books that air out the old formulas—Carrillo's "Eurocommunism"

and the State is the best known so far. In all this, Soviet socialism is becoming a negative model. "For the first time in the communist movement," writes Manuel Azcarate, in the Spanish party's theoretical organ, "Eurocommunism poses, in a clear and open way, the need for a socialist transformation that is different from those that have taken place."

Such attitudes might have been expected from the innovative Italians or the flexible Spaniards, but when they pop up in the traditionalist French party, something serious is afoot. A recent work by five members of the French party, *L'URSS et Nous*, published with the blessing of the party's political bureau, is illustrative. Introducing the work in *L'Humanite*, party leaders emphasized that its authors "have attempted to renovate the very manner of studying and evaluating the Soviet Union."

This laudable attempt to look plainly at present-day USSR is accompanied by a new way of looking at the Soviet past. The triumphal mode of history is being abandoned; some of the suppressed traditions in Bolshevism represented by Trotsky, Bukharin and others are being rediscovered.

Francois Cohen writes of this need in *L'URSS et Nous*. Similarly, a British party study group on Trotskyism has considered some of Trotsky's ideas—critically, but without the malicious prejudices and absurdities still prevalent in Soviet treatments. Carrillo confesses that he, like other "youngsters of the period" swallowed all the nonsense about Trotsky popularized by Moscow in the 1930s. He chides official Soviet texts for their "biased manipulation of facts, which does not accord with the historical reality."

Clearing up the record of the Soviet past, especially of the 1930s, with its drastic collectivization of peasant farming, wholesale arrests, the Moscow show trials, and the terrorization of the party by state security organs, is still a touchy problem for Soviet leaders. They were enthusiastic cadres of that period and are the chief beneficiaries of its crimes. If the opposition was correct then, why suppress an opposition now? Khrushchev handled the dilemma with the expediency of rehabilitation—absolving, often posthumously, thousands of Communists of the lurid charges (wrecking, agents of fascism and imperialism, and the like) for which they were condemned to death or concentration camps.

Soviet leaders forestall further investigation by affirming that, aside from "excesses," Stalin's regime was on the correct course. This process stops short of rehabilitating Trotsky and Bukharin; they are specters of alternative regimes, and of the principle of opposition.

For the Eurocommunists, whose Stalinist lineage doesn't leave them with clean hands either, a reconsideration of Trotsky and Bukharin is important for their new identities. As *L'Unita*, the Italian party's daily, recently suggested in an article on Bukharin: "The need to do justice to the eminent representative of the international Communist movement, as well as to the other victims of the trials of the '30s, is not merely a problem concerning their historical merit, but a moral and political necessity."

Eurocommunists are even more forcibly defending the contemporary dissident movement and the campaign for human rights inside the USSR and the Soviet bloc. The post-Khrushchev leadership signalled its attitude towards dissent by putting the unorthodox writers Sinyavsky and Daniel on trial in 1966. Oppressive policies of the Soviet government since then have offered the Western parties a fat target. The Brezhnev regime has launched an offensive against dissidence, replete with arrests, expulsions, psychiatric detention, harassment and intimidation of thousands of individuals associated with struggles for civil liberties, the rights of national minorities, religious toleration, free emigration and (occasionally) democratic socialism.

Still, it was not until the mid-1970s that defense of the dissidents by the Western parties became forthright, frequent, and less selective. An unusually severe wave of criticism by the Eurocommunists greeted a cluster of trials in the USSR in the summer of 1978, especially those of the veteran dissident-activist Alexander Ginzburg, and the Jewish "refusenik" Anatoly Shcharansky (on trial for his life for "espionage"). The Spanish party called the trials "incompatible with socialist ideals," and the Italians said the trials aroused "profound anxiety and reproach," and reminded Soviet leaders and the Western public that democracy and liberty are "inseparable from our concept of socialism."

The biggest surprise was the blunt criticism that came from France. In recent years, French Communists have appeared at left rallies (Trotskyists included) on behalf of Soviet political prisoners. Marchais even turned up on television for a discussion with exiled dissident Andrei Amalrik. Last summer, the French party sent a delegation to the Soviet embassy to demand the release of Ginzburg and Shcharansky and to call for an end to persecution. In an act breaking with all precedent, party leaders and representatives of the Communist-dominated union federation, the CGT, participated in a demonstration denouncing the Soviet Union for the first time.

The Eurocommunist transformation process, however, entails hesitations, ambiguities and conflicts that have already caused intra-party splits. The Greek, Swedish and British parties all have "Eurocommunist" formations alongside Soviet-oriented groupings. Ties to Moscow are exceedingly difficult to sever for the Western Communists, encased as they are in sentiment, tradition and paternity. "We cannot ignore," observes Giorgio Napolitano, "the ideological bonds and the feelings of solidarity with the socialist world—with the peoples of the Soviet Union above all—that are so deeply rooted in great masses of our militants and workers." The heroic image of the USSR still retains power among many old guard Communists.

Jeannette Vermeersch, long active in the leadership of the French party (she is the widow of the late party chief, Maurice Thorez), for example, appeared on television in 1978 to defend the USSR in areas from "normalization" in Czechoslovakia to the treatment of dissidents, and argued that to stray from solidarity with the USSR is to weaken the workers' movement.

Further signs of the identity crisis in the French party concern the matter of facing up to its own past under Moscow's shadow. A leading critic of the USSR in the French party, the historian Jean Elleinstein, has chastised his comrades for dragging their feet on this question. Elleinstein admits that "steps have been taken in this direction," but complains that the party always stops "halfway" and fails to win back ex-members because of this position "mid-stream."

Perhaps Eurocommunist leaders—and especially the Italians, because of their traditionally correct relations with the Soviet party—no longer view the USSR as socialist but can't say so. The issue has to be confronted, if this is true, less in ideological than in political terms, as a *Rinascita* editorial suggested: "To those who ask that the PCI denounce the non-socialist character of the USSR and make political democracy the axis of a new international organization, we answer, once again, No. The basic problem remains the political one of the reality of the socialist countries in the world, in the concrete equilibrium of the world these days."

In any event, there are two sides to the dynamic. The future of the Eurocommunist challenge to the USSR may depend in part on the Soviet response to it, a subject to which we turn next installment.

■ Louis Menashe teaches Russian history at the Polytechnic Institute of New York and is a regular contributor to *IN THESE TIMES* on Soviet affairs.

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By Eliot Asinof

"The degradation of sport," wrote Christopher Lasch in *The Culture of Narcissism*, "consists not in its being taken too seriously but in its trivialization." The level to which big league baseball has been reduced is noted in *The Bronx Zoo* by Sparky Lyle (with writer Peter Golenbock). Lyle was the great relief pitcher for the 1978 New York Yankees. It is a book that trivializes baseball, the Yankees and the book industry. Its most memorable scene (thrice repeated) re-

counts old Sparky's compulsion to sit naked on any birthday cake that finds its way into the Yankee locker room.

Lyle's theme is that money, not baseball, is the center of the ballplayer's existence. On almost every page, there is reference to it. It's not enough to make a million, one has to make more than one's teammates. Youngsters barely into their 20s are being drenched in this fallout.

Lyle's portrait of the Yankees is a raw one of chaos and controversies, a screwed-up organization governed by an egocentric millionaire tyrant totally devoid of sensitivity or even acumen, who reduces his staff to puppets and his players to cynical victims. George Steinbrenner is not the first magnate to buy a major league ball club for a toy, then add to his millions in the process—in spite of an appalling ignorance of the game. (He did not know, for example, under what circumstances a run could score on a play resulting in the third out.)

Steinbrenner demands total loyalty but shows none in return. He hires and

fires, trades and bullies—and wins. Like a poker player with unlimited funds to drive others out (plus an extra card, just in case), he wins—but just barely.

According to Lyle, now safely removed with a larger salary on the Texas Rangers, the Yankees are rotting in rancor and dissension. Lyle rails at Steinbrenner for having spent a fortune to sign Reggie Jackson. A .270 hitter with a .400 mouth, Jackson became a celebrity less for his talent than the size of his salary. According to Lyle, Reggie is a fool, a liar, a troublemaker, but the sportswriters are entranced with him, hanging on his every word, which is always simpler than writing about the game itself. Steinbrenner let Jackson's braggadocio distract the public from his own foibles.

It took 75 years to break the strictures of the so-called reserve clause, by which owners held all ballplayers in bondage—only to reap a whirlwind of free agent idiocy. A few became millionaires, cluttering up stadium parking lots with a few more silver Rolls Royces, but the overall

result is the compounding of resentment and frustration among the many. While Lyle resents the writers for fomenting dissension so that they might feed on the resulting gossip, Lyle pathetically goes to exactly the same trough.

Forty years ago, hardly a town in the entire U.S. did not have a ball team. Nearly every kid played baseball in what was a genuine National Pastime, though few of them ever got to see a major league game. Now the situation has almost completely reversed itself. There are two dozen big league cities where there used to be ten, and attendance figures have skyrocketed, but a decreasing number of spectators have ever played the game. In the process, baseball has shifted from a sport to an entertainment. The game's integrity has eroded: from shifting franchises to plastic grass to frigid late-October night World Series games...to *The Bronx Zoo*.

Almost 20 years ago, Jim Brosnan, another relief pitcher on a championship team (Cincinnati Reds) wrote the first successful modern baseball book, *The Long Season*, a sparkling, intelligent account of what it was like in the biggies. It dignified the game and its players by the sharpness of his insights and the intensity of his caring. Lyle's book has taken the same structure but has none of the same content. It is not the absence of truth that jars but the emptiness of his values. ■

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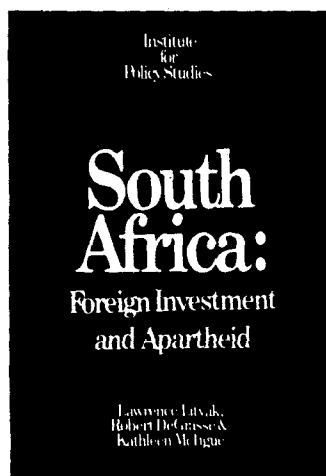
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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

POPULAR MUSIC

Rock artists on the edge of pop success

By Bruce Dancis

Rock'n'roll in America is a business (surprise, surprise), operated for profits rather than aesthetic realization. Some of the most worthwhile projects either fail to see the vinyl of day or are buried, through poor promotion, shortly after release.

If we're lucky, import LPs brought out by the slightly more adventurous British companies can be located. And, amidst the putrid piles of petroleum products stacked neatly at the local record supermarket, there are even some innovative American albums.

Not all of the following new records are complete successes, but in their way each is daring; and a daring failure wears a lot better than a tepid hit.

The Bizarros (Mercury)—The Ramones meet the Struts and the results are Bizarro. There must be something in the rubber fumes wafting out into the Akron/Cleveland area that produces such bad jokes along with some of America's best rock groups: Devo, Fats Uhu, Tin Huey, and now, the Bizarros. No fancy gadgets are used in this debut LP, unlike some of their Buckeye brethren, but there are two sides full of tough-rocking, unpretentious hooks.

The Roches (Warner Bros.)—Maggie, Terre and Suzzy Roche understand the humor of everyday life, as in the wry incongruity of singing lines like, "Once you step on, you might never get off of the commuter train" in sweet, three-part harmony. Their wit finds expression not only in their lyrics, but in oddball timing and phrasing, singing a tad deeper than what would be formally and

normally permissible, and twanging a guitar string when a chord is expected. The extremely spare instrumental background—acoustic guitars, no drums, only occasional interventions on electric guitar by producer Robert Fripp—may restrict the Roches' appeal to folkies.

Stiff Little Fingers' Inflammable Material (Rough Trade Records, UK import)—a British quartet offering guitar-dominated pogo music with honest-to-goodness melodies. Like the Clash, they present a socially aware, politically radical perspective, and they, too, do a startlingly good, revved-up version of a reggae classic—in this case, Bob Marley's "Johnny Was." The most exciting hard-core punk album since *Give Em Enough Rope*.

John Hiatt, Slug Line (MCA)—from the photo-verite (no airbrush) album cover to the uncompromising hard rock songs—"punch a pretty hole in my mind," goes a line on the splendid title cut—the 26-year-old Hiatt appears to be the real thing, an American singer-songwriter whose musical tension matches the anger of his lyrics. Though he never quite reaches the power of Graham Parker or the lyrical daring of Elvis Costello, neither does anyone else. My only quibble is with the anti-disco polemic, "(No More) Dancin' in the Street." Its Berry-style rhythm rocks nicely, but the message is condescending and trite.

Alternative TV, Vibing Up the Senile Man (Part One) (Deptford Fun City Records, UK import)—the most anti-commercial album to have crossed my aural in a long time. Alternative TV's second album makes last December's no wave *No New York* com-



The Roche sisters understand the humor of daily life.

pilation sound, in comparison, like an exercise in melody. "Serpentine Gallery" repeatedly takes a listener by surprise with its jarring sounds and bizarre percussion, thrown out without the slightest trace of a rhythm. The stream-of-consciousness vocal cadences of "The Good Missionary" run counter to the "song's" instrumentally eerie underbelly. Can't endorse it; but anyone who ever wondered what a Trinitron turned loose on its watchers would sound like should know this album exists.

Flash and the Pan (Epic)—a curious blend of popish Top 40 with New Wavy talk rock. This is the pun-filled return of Harry Vanda and George Young, two Australians who made a bit of a dent as part of the Easybeats in the mid-'60s with "Friday on My Mind." The talking leads take the place of the missing lead singer, who must be stuck inside of Perth with the Canberra blues again.

Robert Fripp, Exposure (Polydor)—a gratifying album of hi-tech hard rock by the exceptionally original ex-King Crimson guitarist, who has also played with Brian Eno, David Bowie, Peter Gabriel and Blondie. Fripp weaves between Jerry Lee Lewis-style rockers to blue-eyed soul (sung, apparently, by Daryl Hall) to harrowing, moody stories. My favorite is "Breathless," an instrumental composed of rapid-fire drums, a quickly running bass, pulsating guitar chords and a Twilight Zoned synthesizer.

Roy Loney and the Phantom Movers, Out After Dark (Solid Smoke Records, P.O. Box 22372, San Francisco, CA 94122)—Ex-Flamin' Groovy Loney and his band prove, in their twangy, gruff and exuberant odes to classic rock'n'roll, that sometimes it's daring to stand still. Recommended in particular are "She Run Away," a ballad whose pizzazz belies its allegedly sad story, and a Caribbean version of "Return to Sender" that may help you forget Whatshisname.

McFadden and Whitehead (Philadelphia International)—a daring disco album? A contradiction in terms? Not if it's by a successful songwriting and production team that never before risked doing their own material themselves. The authors of hits such as "Backstabbers" (The O-

Jays) and other songs recorded by Teddy Pendergrass, Harold Melvin and the Bluenotes, and other soul luminaries have turned out a gifted album ranging through soul, ballads, disco and funk.

The Only Ones, Even Serpents Shine (CBS, UK import)—the pick of the litter and one of the best albums released so far this year. The opening cut begins with a riff Keith Richards would be proud to have written, and there

is little faltering on the LP. Resident sage Peter Perrett sings in a world-weary voice evoking Lou Reed and Ray Davies, except that Perrett can consistently carry a tune. The band plays exquisitely clean, classic British rock.

Why is this album, not to mention the Only Ones' 1978 debut, still available solely as an import? Even the most timid A&R honcho couldn't find *Even Serpents Shine* too punky, arty or lefty. ■

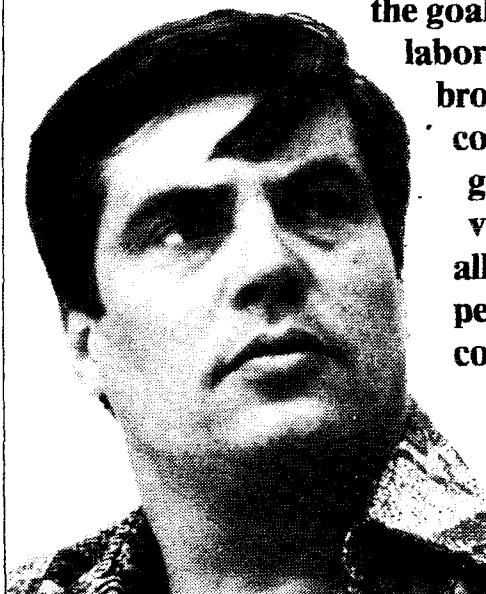
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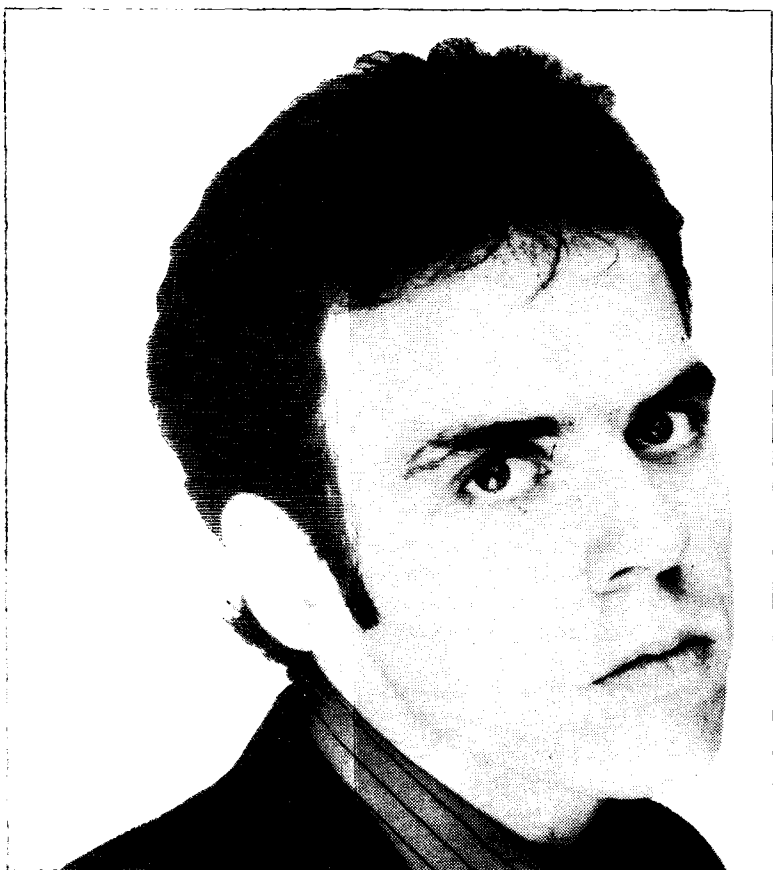


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John Hiatt's musical tension matches the anger of his lyrics.

FILM CONFERENCE

Left film and video workers meet at national conference



Caucuses meet informally on the lawn.

By Pat Aufderheide

The U.S. Alternative Cinema Conference, June 12-17 at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, brought together from across the country people who make and use films and video expressing social concern for the first time. Nearly 400 people attended sessions ranging from film aesthetics to new technologies to fundraising. The conference, organized by an ad-hoc committee of New York filmmakers and writers, grew out of informal discussions after the 1974 Montreal International Meetings for a New Cinema. The organizers intended to

draw together "media activists," who "use the media to promote social change." The purpose of the gathering was not sharply defined, nor were the common interests of the group, since the organizers used the term "alternative" instead of "left."

Many filmmakers and distributors supported the conference, including Julia Reichert of New Day Films, Gordon Quinn of Kartemquin Films, Barbara Kopple (*Harlan County U.S.A.*), Lorraine Gray (*With Babies and Banners*) and Peter Adair (*Word Is Out*). But others, including Haile Gerima, most members of Third World Newsreel and St. Claire

Bourne decided not to attend. This reason conference organizers arranged for caucuses of feminists, gays, lesbians, minority or Third World groups and regional groups to meet during the first days of the conference.

The Third World caucus provided a model of response for other groups. The caucus criticized conference organizers for discrimination, but presented a list of concrete and workable recommendations. These included putting their own representatives on all panels, supporting the Minority Task Force report to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and working toward multiracial film crews.

Throughout the five days, the word "unity" was used vociferously. This came to mean "mutual respect." People with different work styles, facing different social problems and from different regions questioned whether they were being discriminated against at the conference and came to a working understanding.

These discussions exposed isolation of two kinds. They revealed the isolation of the organizing committee in developing a set of concerns that many found either irrelevant or premature. The discussions also revealed the isolation of many film workers engaged in activity without knowledge of similar efforts.

Were the heated arguments useful? Many found them so. "People who had done a lot of work with blacks, gays and feminists got together," commented *Jump/Cut* editor and film professor Chuck Kleinhans. "What happened was Stage One of something the could happen. People ensured the respect of each other, and now they can go back and get more people."

Nuts-and-bolts information reached audiences as well. At a distribution session, for instance, Carlos Penichet of the Chicano Cinema Coalition stressed the importance of planning for sales

(perhaps of one version of an independent film) to public school systems, the largest buyers of 16mm films. In a workshop, Susan Eenigenberg of Independent Cinema Artists and Producers, discussed the current shortage of product on cable and the possibilities for selling short subjects to cable programmers.

At a session devoted to the Film Fund, a granting foundation for socially-concerned independent video and film, several speakers criticized the Fund's muddy guidelines. Film Fund staff dodged the question with platitudes.

Film screenings displayed the variety of independent film work. *Jump Street*, about prison inmates' life pressures; the excellent *Patricia's Moving Picture*, about a fortyish woman's transition from full-time mother to independent adult; and a work in progress, the impressive *Housekeepers*, about New York housekeepers organizing a union, demonstrated a diverse approach in such filmmaking. Of the three, *Housekeepers* is the only one made in conjunction with and as part of an organizing effort.

Filmmakers, distributors and exhibitors developed formal and

informal contacts at the conference. Out of Third World caucuses, for instance, came a newsletter among Puerto Rican filmmakers. Chris Dorr, a film student in California, claimed that regional meetings growing out of regional caucuses would facilitate developing multiracial film crews, by introducing likeminded film producers to each other. Maria Munoz, public TV producer and member of the Chicano Cinema Coalition, commented, "We're coming out of this with a network; we may even be able to organize a Third World Media Activists Conference."

Regional meetings will be held in coming weeks to share news from the June conference, and to prepare proposals for more responsible procedures by the Film Funds to be presented at a November meeting with Fund board members.

Regional co-ordinators: New York, Jaribu, 15 W. 106 St.; Chicago: Gordon Quinn, 1901 W. Wellington; Boston: Starr Film Library, 120 Boylston, #708; Los Angeles: Jesus Trevino, KCET, 4401 Sunset Blvd.; San Francisco: Marietta Wilson, 841 Fulton St.; Washington, D.C.: Pat Dowell, 2400 Burke Ave., Alexandria, Va.

CULTURE SHOCK



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INDEPENDENT FILM

By Rachel C. Kranz

Mission Hill and the Miracle of Boston is a consistently interesting, fast-moving documentary of urban renewal's attempt to destroy Boston's ethnic neighborhoods. The 60-minute black-and-white film relies almost exclusively on stories Boston residents tell about their own neighborhoods and their own history.

The people who tell their stories in *Mission Hill* understand profoundly what has happened to them. Occasionally a narrator steps in to offer a fact or make a transition, but for the most part, neighborhood people give their own version of class and ethnic conflict in Boston.

"They'd practically take the sweat out of you to send their kids to college," recalls a former worker at the Thomas Plant Shoe Factory. Comments of people in the film repeatedly reflect a keen sense of the divisions between the Yankee elite and the immigrant working class. In the 19th century, working people sweated so their bosses' sons could go to Harvard; in the 20th, Harvard and the bosses joined in support of urban renewal plans to replace working-class neighborhoods with Harvard medical buildings and luxury real estate.

"We just decided we wouldn't call the film done until the points were made in people's statements," says producer/director Richard Broadman. "If the concepts are really there, then you should be able to find them in people." That decision meant the film took five years to complete, with a perennial shortage of funds.

Racial conflict.

Boston's deep-running racial conflict is shown from a neighborhood point of view without supporting the anti-black sentiment of many Boston neighborhoods. Both black and white neighborhood residents recount their memories of postwar racial conflicts, as Boston's new housing projects became the scene of bitter fighting between black and white gangs of youth. The conflict coincided with the rapid deterioration of the projects themselves, which many blame on black residents' "destructiveness."

But in the film, white as well as black residents express their anger at the city officials, whom they charge with allowing the projects to decline when their residents no longer constituted an important voting bloc.

"I can't believe the kids were any tougher or meaner than we were when we were growing up," says Jack Hamilton, a white resident of the projects until 1965. "We broke windows, destroyed property, and everything, so we weren't angels.... So if the projects are not being taken care of today, it can't be because the kids are tougher than we were. It has to be that someone, somewhere, either wants them run down or they aren't doing their job."

The film, however, presents a uniformly positive account of the administration of James Michael Curley, Boston's first Irish mayor and founder of the powerful political machine that frightened Yankee businessmen from the turn of the century to the end of World War II.

To some extent, this is an important corrective to historians' traditional portrayal of Curley as the corrupt machine politician, the model for the mayor in *The East Boston Kebab Killers*, who gave her grandmother a long-

Telling it like it was in the neighborhood



Above: First Communion, Mission Hill Projects, 1944. Left: Urban decay today.

The exodus of young people from neighborhoods that they associate with poverty, conservative social standards, and oppressive family networks remains a problem even in those ethnic neighborhoods that have survived the wrecking ball. Furthermore, often the very neighborhood ties to traditional ethnicity and machine politics may slow the development of newer, more effective forms of organizing against urban renewal.

Filmmakers Broadman and John Grady recognize this shortcoming, too. "No one's dealing with that problem in the organizing itself," Grady told *ITT*. He outlines a split between working-class radicals who left their neighborhoods (like many of the filmmakers) and more traditional working-class youth who stayed.

This film is a resource for community organizers and community colleges. It has already won the support of many in the Mission Hill neighborhood. Residents of that neighborhood contributed money toward the film; residents of other neighborhoods have responded positively at community showings.

Residents gave funds to make this film about urban renewal versus ethnic communities.

Neighborhood romance.

The problem arises again when the film deals with traditional neighborhood life. Residents recall with emotion how renters as well as homeowners would mop down the sidewalks every day, how West End Neighborhood House sent its kids to camp. But those memories do not include a sense of the internal forces against the ethnic community. "People tried to escape to the suburbs as early as the '20s," objected one lifelong Boston resident after a recent showing of the film. "As the children of those homes got advanced schooling and began to go to college, they left."

"In that scene where those children are making their first communion," says one man excitedly in a discussion after the film, "that was my house behind them—and that was my neighborhood, and it was a good neighborhood."

Mission Hill and the Miracle of Boston, produced by Richard Broadman, John Grady, John Pennington and Roy Rosenszweig, in cooperation with Noel Buckner, Mary Dore, and the C.D. Film Workshop, rents for \$65 in 16 mm through Cine Research Association, 28 Fisher Ave., Boston, MA 02120, (617) 442-9756.

Why the Sandinistas fight

By Valerie Irene Landau

Patria Libre o Morir (Free Homeland or Death), the slogan coined by the Nicaraguan General Augusto Cesar Sandino in the 1920s and '30s, is the name of a new documentary film that takes an in-depth look at the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The FSLN is a political and military organization currently leading the struggle against the 45-year dictatorship of the Somoza family (see story, page 9).

The 70-minute color film *Nicaragua: A Free Homeland or Death* begins with a pictorial history of Nicaragua. The movie then launches into the FSLN guerrilla training camps. Several Sandinista leaders give on-location interviews and the day-to-day life of the guerrilleros is shown. The filmmakers show both the theory and practice of the FSLN in an interesting and moving way.

The camera takes the viewers to a Sandinista mass with Father Ernesto Cardenal, one of Latin America's leading poets. The Sandinistas hold their M16s and automatic rifles casually as they discuss their ideas of Jesus



Homeless refugees are now a common sight in Nicaraguan cities.

Christ as embodying the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed masses. They bite the bread and drink the wine.

We watch the smooth brown faces of the young Sandinistas as they talk, eat, run, learn to shoot an anti-aircraft launcher and run an obstacle course of bayoneted rifles. The Sandinista men bathe in a river and then make way for the women guerrilleras to bathe.

They march, tired but determined, through the lush green mountains of Nicaragua.

The majority of the Sandinistas are young. The film suggests that to fight in an armed struggle against the government that oppresses them is their only chance for a better life for themselves and their families.

At one point the filmmakers interview a member of Somoza's

National Guard captured by the FSLN. The Guardsman talks about how he and his fellow Guardsmen went into villages and randomly killed 14-20 year old peasant boys, simply because they were young men. His testimony gives insight into the severity of the corruption and brutality of Somoza's regime.

We also watch a battle with the National Guard, and the possibility of death becomes real. Then the film cuts to a seemingly endless line of Sandinistas marching. The music swells. It seems like an up-beat ending. However, a card flashes on the screen informing the viewer that the people we are about to see have been killed since the film was shot. Faces we have come to know in the previous hour appear on the screen filled with determination. The film ends.

This well-made film is a must for all those people interested in understanding the situation in Nicaragua today or any armed liberation struggle.

Nicaragua: A Free Homeland or Death was made by Oscar Castillo, a Costa Rican, and is distributed by Tricontinental Films, 333 Sixth Ave., New York, NY 10014.

I.F. STONE WILL SPEAK AT THE Birmingham Temple on the 'Prospects for Peace in the Middle East,' announced the *Detroit Free Press* in a front-page interview with Izzy Stone the other day.

That drew everyone's attention. I have to park a quarter mile down the road. Controversy seemed out of place in this semi-rural setting with a peaceful cemetery across the road. But controversy there is. Teenagers distribute a critique of Stone, accusing him of being an "open PLO spokesman." The Zionist Organization of Detroit has its own handout.

Six hundred people fill the seats and aisles. Standing next to me is Bruce Smith, an executive board member, who says they're not worried. "We had our rabbi, Sherwin Wine, debate Meyer Kahane of the Jewish Defense League, and we didn't have any trouble."

Feeling the tension, I think he's optimistic. Lynne Silverberg, the incoming president of the Temple, joins us. "Stone didn't want to come at first," she says. "He figured there would be lots of abuse. But we explained that we're humanists, so he agreed." She's optimistic, too.

The audience applauds. Unobtrusively Izzy has entered. The introducer mentions Izzy's interest in Greek history, his hypothesis that Socrates was executed because Athenians feared he would undermine free speech. He reminds us of Izzy's knowledge of the history of Zionism and Israel, his famous 1946 book, *Underground to Palestine*, which recounts his trip on the Haganah ship from Poland to Israel. Those are Izzy's credentials for a hard night ahead.

Izzy feels the weight of expectation. Lots of friendly faces, but a noticeable undercurrent of grumbling as he tells a couple of funny Jewish stories. It works. The laughter calms everyone down.

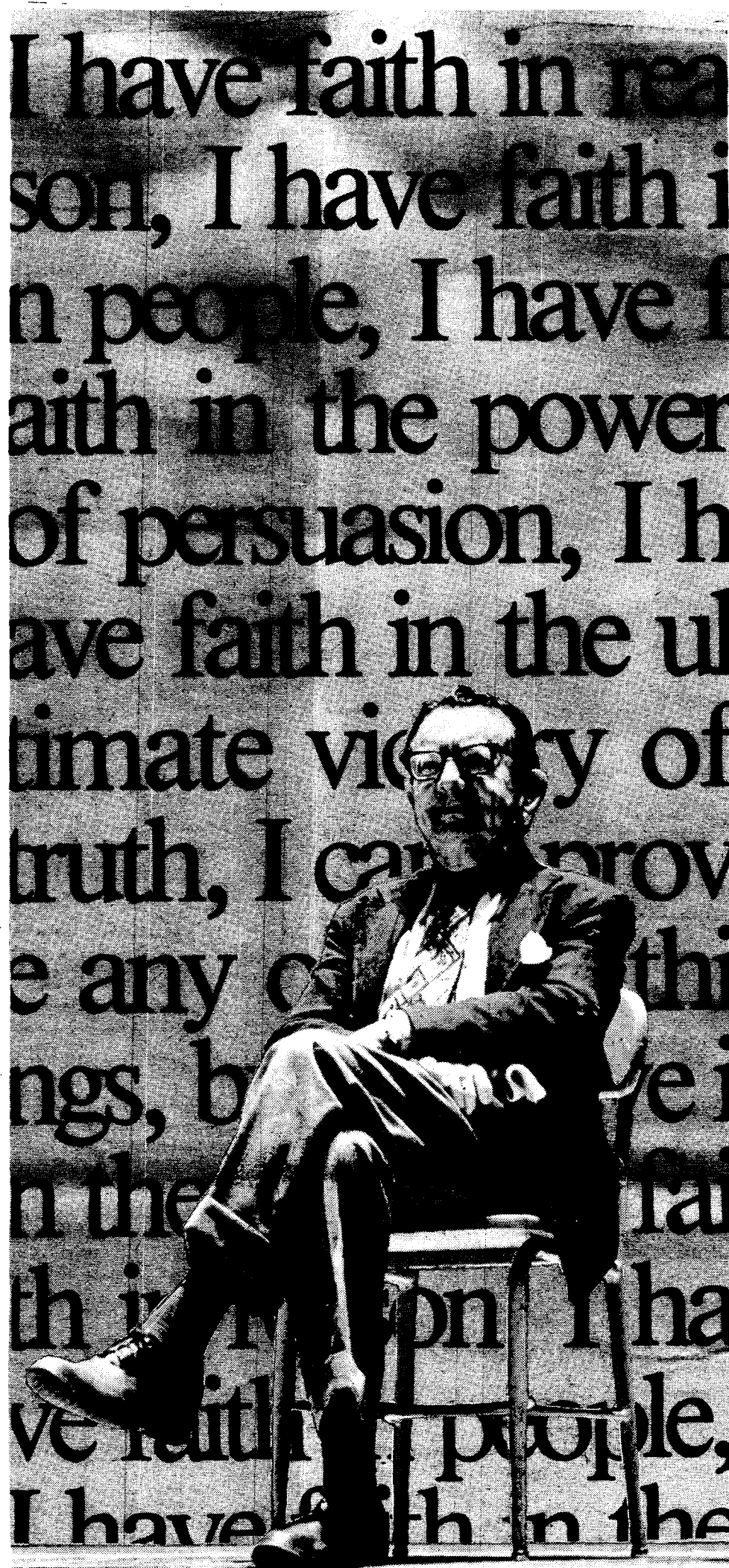
"There's a lot of discussion about peace within Israel these days—much more than in the American Jewish community," he says. "He's not going to pull any punches."

"Jews must take a risk to make peace. I too wish the preservation of Israel, but that is only possible by reconciliation with our Arab brothers." The audience is very quiet.

"The logic of war is moving things now. Either there will be reconciliation or repression. The thing that Israel will be judged by is how we treat minorities. The Arabs are our Siamese twins; they have the same blood, they have suffered the same humiliation." How is this going over? It's hard to tell, but they're listening.

Izzy talks of the "other Zionism," the bi-national ideal of some of Israel's great leaders like Ahad Ha Am, A.D. Gordon, Smilansky, Kalwariski. "The Arabs are Israel's number one moral question," he says. He talks about other minorities too: the Christians who fought on Israel's side in 1948, but have not been allowed to go back home. The American Jew who fought in 1948, but whose children are second-class because his wife is not Jewish.

The Israeli in his fifties standing next to me is angrily muttering under his breath. I expect an explosion.



Steve Kagan

Izzy at the Temple

by Charles Rooney

Izzy thinks Israel's chance for peace is slipping away. He is harshly critical of Menachem Begin. "When Sadat courageously went to Jerusalem, Begin offered no word that could have given life to the peace hopes. He's not a DeGaulle, who created a new atmosphere with the Algerians when he spoke of the 'peace of the brave.'"

"Carter set off on a good path at Camp David. The accord guaranteed both necessary conditions: real peace for Israel and a Palestinian homeland. But now Begin talks about 'autonomy of the person, not of the land or water.' As a condition of peace, that is so mean. The position of the Israeli cabinet about new settlements on the West Bank creates impossible conditions for peace. Begin is cutting off the moderates at the knees."

"Israel has a responsibility not to undercut free society and the principles upon which our safety as a minority is assured!"

Loud applause. He has touched a nerve. He presses home the point he started with: the unwillingness of many American Jews to listen to compromise. The Quakers are attacked when they offer a peace plan; pro-Israel Sen. Charles Percy (R-IL) is attacked when he has compassion for the Arab refugees. Stone himself is an outcast now.

"If we harden our hearts to the Arabs, we lose our heritage. We will have to blot out the prophets; we will have to blot out Isaiah!" He ends now, saying that Detroit's large Jewish and Arab population could be an example that brotherhood is really possible.

The applause goes on a long time. He has hit the right tone. It was not a political speech, but a *crie de coeur*.

Suddenly I am jolted by the man standing next to me, on his feet, almost screaming at Stone. "I was raised and educated in Israel, and I am insulted by what you said. Israeli citizens do not hate Arabs. Israelis take better care of the Arabs than Arabs do!" Voice rising, he demands: "Why don't you tell people what the PLO says about Israel? The PLO doesn't want co-existence!"

Any hopes for a tranquil, rational ending are quickly dispelled. A barrel-chested man stands near the front, and his booming voice fills every corner of the synagogue: "I was a second commander of the *Exodus* when you came on board in Naples in 1946. If my crew were here today they'd run you out of town!"

I wonder if he means to do the job himself and I quickly look around for signs of a security force. There is none.

It seems there will be a reprieve, as a neutral voice asks, "What should the U.S. priorities be? How can we help?" But Izzy turns up the heat. "The U.S. should impose an arms embargo until the Jewish settlements on the West Bank are removed." Another calm voice: "Can Carter do that, given an election next year?" Izzy signs. "Carter's in such bad shape now that he might as well do what's right and take his chances. If the talks break down now, all is lost."

This ignites the heated coals. Amid clapping and jeering, a rapid fire of hostile questions follows.

"Are you disillusioned with the Jews or just with Israel?" "If the Arabs are so peaceful, who started the war in 1948?" "You're feeding anti-Semitism!" Most of the audience howls in dissent against this one.

"Why isn't Jordan a solution?" Izzy responds: "Because it would mean moving a million Jews from Gaza. Would you move?" "Yes, if my situation were intolerable." Izzy starts to get angry: "What right do you have to make people's lives intolerable and then tell them that the solution is for them to move?"

Finally the Israeli on my left demands an answer: "Why don't you tell these people that the PLO platform is the destruction of Israel? Answer!" He is angry, outraged, anguished. Izzy is past anger: "That platform is an excuse for you to do nothing. Carter's trying to get them to give it up. Do you want war to be the only way out?"

It ends, abruptly, amid shouting on many sides. Eighty percent of the audience seems to be on Izzy's side. On the way out, Lynne Silverberg stops to report that the president of the Arab women's association of Detroit was present and wants the two of them to get together and see what they can do.

In the *Free Press* interview, Izzy had said, "I have faith in reason, I have faith in people, I have faith in the power of persuasion, I have faith in the ultimate victory of truth. I can't prove any of these things, but I believe in them."

I hope he's right.